FBIS DAILY REPORT

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Vol III No 049

11 March 1983

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USTINOV: USSR ABLE TO RESPOND TO EUROMISSILES

PM111101 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 11 Mar 83 First Edition p 1

[TASS special correspondent's report: "Motherland's High Award. Presentation of Order of Patriotic War, First Class, to Murmansk City"]

[Text] Murmansk, 10 Mar -- The city of Murmansk has been awarded the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class, for the courage and fortitude displayed by the city's working people in the struggle against the German fascist aggressors in the years of the Great Patriotic War and for the successes achieved in economic and cultural building.

A ceremonial meeting of representatives of party, Soviet and public organizations, labor collectives and war and labor veterans -- participants in the defense of the Soviet polar regions -- devoted to the presentation of the high award was held here today.

The CPSU Central Committee Politburo was enthusiastically elected honorary presidium by the meeting participants.

Marshal of the Soviet Union, D.F. Ustinov, member of the CPSU Central Committee Politburo and USSR minister of defense, warmly greeted by the assembly people, addressed the meeting. On behalf of the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers, he cordially congratulated the city's working people on the motherland's high award and conveyed to them cordial greetings and warm congratulations from Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee.

The polar city of Murmansk, the speaker pointed out, is still quite young. In fact, it is a contemporary of Great October. Embarking with tremendous enthusaism on implementing the socioeconomic and cultural development plans, the working people of Murmansk achieved a very great deal. They turned the city into a base for opening up the arctic and carried out the industrialization and collectivization of the polar regions. In an historically short time -- the duration of the prewar 5-year plans -- Murmansk grew from a small port into the major industrial and cultural center of the polar regions.

The Great Patriotic War was a grim trial for our people. Victory in it was won at the cost of incredible exertion of all forces, great sacrifices and privations, selflessness and mass heroism.

The people of Murmansk made a considerable contribution to achieving victory in the Great Patriotic War. They fought selflessly and courageously in the ranks of the 14th Army, on ships of the Northern Fleet, in subunits of marines, border guards and airmen and in partisan detachments, and they worked wholeheartedly for the front and for victory -- at sea, the dockside, at machine tools, down mines and on farms.

Seeking to isolate the Soviet polar regions at all costs, the Hitlerites concentrated their efforts on strikes against the allied convoys and against the port and city of Murmansk. But, despite everything, the convoys continued to come, and the port and city worked continuously. More than 2 million tons of freight needed for the front and for victory was handled in the port during the war years, a considerable proportion of it under heavy enemy fire.

The merchant seamen who transported the goods and the polar airmen enlisted to carry out reconnaissance and to accompany the convoys acted heroically. The ship repairers worked selflessly. The hard job of the polar fishermen was never interrupted. During the grim war years they gave the country approximately 1 million quintals of fish. The Murmansk party organization was the core of the city's defense. By their personal example and ardent party-minded words, the Communists rallied the people of Murmansk and inspired them to selfless labor.

The motherland valued the services of its northern borders' defenders on their true merits and instituted the medal "For Defense of the Soviet Polar Regions." This award was conferred on more than 300,000 people, including more than 10,000 inhabitants of Murmansk.

In October 1944 Soviet troops switched to a resolute offensive. The USSR state border was fully reinstated during the Petsamo-Kirkenes operation. The enemy was driven out of the Soviet polar regions. Fulfilling their international duty, Soviet servicemen liberated northern Norway from the German fascist invaders.

The road to our victory was not easy. Those who are not with us today, who gave their life for the freedom and independence of the socialist homeland, will never be forgotten.

The speaker proposed honoring the bright memory of the fallen with a minute's silence.

Many people remember the Murmansk of the first postwar years, the USSR defense minister went on to say. Fires caused by enemy bombing raids destroyed the majority of buildings. Ruins, smoldering rubble, wasteland -- that was the way the city looked. Through the efforts of Communists and all its working people it was restored and built up anew, becoming the real pearl of the polar regions. Its seaport -- fishing and commercial -- now ranks among the USSR's biggest ports.

Murmansk is rightly called a city of fishermen. The fish industry has become a technically advanced sector of industry armed with modern ships and fish-processing plants. It is a matter of honor for Murmansk fishermen to increase the rate of catching fish and marine products, to improve fishing technology and to open up new fishing areas.

Huge, heavy industry enterprises producing apatite and iron concentrates have been set up in the oblast on the basis of large mineral deposits. The apatite extracted in the Khibiny Mountains is an indispensable raw material for the production of superphosphate fertilizers. It can be said that the battle for the harvest begins here, on the Kola peninsula. In 1982 the working people of Khibiny achieved the highest indicator for apatite extraction in the entire history of the deposit. It is essential not to reduce the pace of development of the ore base in the future by involving apatite ores of very different concentrations in processing.

The party, D.E. Ustinov emphasized, reckons that the fishermen, miners and all working people of the city and oblast will do everything to make a worthy contribution to fulfilling the USSR Food Program.

The people of Murmansk, like all Soviet people, are working persistently and purposefully to fulfil the decisions of the 26th CPSU Congress and the November (1982) plenum of the party's Central Committee and the targets of this year and the 11th 5-Year Plan as a whole. Their attention is focused on realizing the propositions and conclusions in Comrade Yu.V. Andropov's plenum speech and his report "60 Years of the USSR" and the recommendations voiced during his meeting with Moscow machine tool builders. These propositions, conclusions and recommendations have been perceived by our country's working people as a combat program which is being implemented actively everywhere. It has met with warm approval in the fraternal socialist countries and elicited a broad response throughout the world.

Then the speaker dwelt on questions of the foreign policy of the CPSU and the Soviet state. The USSR, he said, is fighting to eliminate the threat of war, to preserve and deepen detente and to ensure lasting security for the peoples.

The Peace Program for the eighties adopted by the 26th CPSU Congress is exerting a beneficial influence on the development of the international situation. Its development and concretization are represented by the subsequent peace initiatives of the USSR, and the new constructive proposals made in the speeches of Comrade Yu.V. Andropov, general secretary of the CPSU Central Committee. The lucidity, the clarity, the considered nature and the firmness of these speeches strengthen still further our motherland's authority in the world arena and are promoting the growth of support for Soviet foreign policy on the part of the entire planet's progressive public. An enormous international response was generated by the Prague Political Declaration of the Warsaw Pact states, which opens up broad opportunities for the normalization [ozdorovleniye] of the international political climate and a shift from confrontation to mutually advantageous cooperation.

The struggle for peace is a complex and difficult matter. We are having to overcome the fierce resistance of the U.S.-led reactionary imperialist forces. These forces are gambling on undermining the prevailing military-strategic balance, on achieving military superiority over the USSR and the Warsaw Pact. A particular danger to the cause of peace is posed by the practical preparation under way in West Europe for the deployment of American medium-range missiles in the NATO countries.

All this is being done in order to arrest at any price the natural course of historical development, to maintain imperialism's positions and to clear the path for the implementation of its aggressive global plans. Hence the frantic anti-Sovietism elevated to the rank of state policy; hence the flagrant interference in the internal affairs of sovereign states and peoples; hence the unrestrained arms race and the adventurist plans to unleash a nuclear war in the hope of emerging victorious.

Hence too the blatant blocking of negotiations on problems of vital importance to mankind. If the United States and its partners had demonstrated elementary objectivity and the minimum desire to consider the interests of the other side and act in accordance with the principle of equality and identical security, the success of the negotiations would be assured. The prerequisites for this are there.

Recently the Soviet Union introduced, on behalf of the socialist countries, new constructive proposals on the mutual reduction of armed forces and armaments in central Europe. This is yet further proof of our good will. So if the talks in Vienna and Geneva are marking time, then the sole reason for this is the absence of the same good will on the part of our negotiating partners and the stubborn reluctance of the Western side to seek mutually acceptable solutions. This relates also to the widely publicized U.S. "zero option," which -- all things considered -- was advanced precisely because we are unable to accept it and never will accept it, inasmuch as it aims at the unilateral disarmament of the Soviet Union.

The impression is created that, by delaying the talks, Washington wishes to gain time before the end of this year in order then to begin the deployment of its medium-range missiles in West Europe. But if this were nevertheless to happen, the Soviet Union will be able to give a timely and effective response. Let no one doubt this. Our nerves are strong and our strength sufficient to enable us to stand up for our interests and the interests of our friends. We will work persistently to defuse tension, to curb the arms race, to preserve detente and ensure the latter's further development. This is now the key question. Its positive solution is an objective requirement of contemporary world development.

The Soviet Union invariably advocates the establishment of equitable and mutually advantageous relations between states and peoples, and the broad and fruitful cooperation of all peoples of the planet which is free from diktat and interference in other people's affairs and is to their mutual advantage and the good of all mankind.

Only the growing military threat emanating from the reactionary imperialist circles compels us to strengthen our country's defense capability and to maintain the combat might and combat readiness of the Army and Navy at the necessary level: The combat potential of the USSR Armed Forces meets today's requirements. It is a solid fusion of a high degree of technical equipment, military skill and indestructible morale.

Sons of all the union republics and all the peoples of our multinational motherland serve in the ranks of the Army and Navy. They are inspired to perform their martial labors by those same ideals fidelity to which was and remains the inexhaustible source of the all-conquering strength of all generations of the builders and defenders of the new society, of the Herculean might of the land of the soviets. These are the shining ideals of communism and peace.

The historic mission of the Soviet Armed Forces is a lofty and responsible one, the USSR defense minister said in conclusion. They are fulfilling this mission worthily in close collaboration with the fraternal armies of the Warsaw Pact states. Soviet people can be confident that their peaceful labor and the great gains of socialism are reliably defended.

Comrade D.F. Ustinov read out the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium decree conferring the Order of the Patriotic War, First Class, on Murmansk and to tumultuous applause attached the award to the city's banner.

To commemorate the portentous event the USSR defense minister presented the city's representatives with a gift -- a picture by RSFSR honored artist N.V. Denisov entitled "Northern Fleet Sailors on Watch Over Peace."

The meeting was addressed by T.N. Shcherbayev, first secretary of Murmansk CPSU Gorkom; V.N. Ptitsyn, first secretary of Murmansk CPSU Obkom; I.N. Timofeyev, participant in the defense of the Soviet polar regions and honored citizen of the city; Ye.I. Rannev, construction workers team leader at the Murmanskmorstroy trust; Admiral A.P. Mikhaylovskiy, commander of the red banner northern fleet; and others. Expressing cordial gratitute for the high award to the city, they pointed out that the domestic and foreign policy being pursued by the party's Leninist Central Committee and its Politburo contributes to the further flowering of our motherland, the steady enhancement of the Soviet people's well-being and the ensuring of world peace. On behalf of the working people of the city and the oblast they assured the party and the government that they will make every effort to successfully fulfill the 26th CPSU Congress decisions and the 11th 5-year plan targets.

The participants in the ceremonial meeting enthusiastically adopted a greetings letter to the CPSU Central Committee, the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers.

On the same day D.F. Ustinov laid a wreath at the monument to the defenders of the Soviet polar regions, visited the Tuloma Sovkhoz and a hothouse combine, talked with agricultural workers and inquired about the fulfillment of the targets of the USSR Food Program.

Then D.F. Ustinov met with party and Soviet workers of the city and oblast.

ZAGLADIN: USSR WILL DEPLOY MISSILES NEAR U.S.

PM111139 Rome LA REPUBBLICA in Italian 9 Mar 83 p 7

[Interview with Vadim Zagladin, first deputy chief of the CPSU Central Committee International Section, by Sandro Viola in Rome; date not given]

[Text] Rome -- It cannot have been pleasant for the Soviets to attend the congress of the "wrench" [of Italian Communist Party from USSR]. Nevertheless, despite the displeasures of his 5 days in Milan, Vadim Zagladin has not lost his habitual good humor. "I know," he said, smiling, "everyone noticed how Berlinguer called Craxi 'comrade' but not

Andropov. Well, that is nothing serious: After all, the Socialist secretary was referred to only by his surname, Craxi, whereas the CPSU secretary was entitled to both forename and surname, Yuriy Andropov. We can console ourselves...."

But once the lighthearted quips were over, the deputy chief of the Soviet Party's International Section did not conceal his disappointment. His days in Milan unquestionably marked the lowest point in relations between the Italian Communists and the USSR. At least on this point, on which Berlinguer intended to demonstrate the extent of the "wrench" with Moscow, the Italian Communist Party [PCI] congress was clear. Zagladin weighed his words and used all the prudence of the good diplomat, but his verdict was precise enough.

"No, I do not believe that one should speak in terms of a rupture. In any case, as far as we are concerned, the idea of a break does not even occur to us. But the fact remains that increasingly profound divergences are emerging. We cannot have Berlinguer say to us, for instance, that the USSR too was a direct responsibility for the exacerbation of the international situation. On this point, our protest during the conversations that we have had with all top PCI leaders has been most resolute. What were these conversations like? Frank, I assure you. The tone was always friendly but both sides displayed unprecedented frankness...."

In the ritual terminology of intercommunist relations, the expression "unprecedented frankness" does not exist. One must therefore infer that voices must sometimes have been raised in the talks that Zagladin and PRAVDA editor Afanasyev had with top PCI leaders in Milan, during which of the many conversations (the two Kremlin guests spoke with Berlinguer and Pajetta, with Napolitano and Reichlin, with Bufalini and Cossutta) we do not know. But the novelty of an actually "unprecedented" frankness indicates that the dialogue between the PCI and the Soviets is becoming increasingly harsh.

But which specific elements since 1979 (the date of the last Berlinguer-Brezhnev meeting, which still reflected a substantial harmony between the parties) have caused the relations binding the Italian Communists to the USSR to deteriorate so rapidly? How important were Afghanistan and Poland and how important the tactical motivations of a party that needed to "emerge from the ford?"

Zagladin shook his head. "What can I tell you? Certainly, everything has happened incredibly quickly. What I can tell you with absolute certainty is that for our part, there has been not a single gesture or word aimed at a deterioration in relations with the PCI. In any case, you will perhaps recall what I told you 2 years ago following a round of talks at PCI headquarters. I told you that some PCI representatives were setting their sights on a break. As became apparent subsequently, these individuals have continued along the path of the "wrench" without concealing their intentions any longer. And the result is what it is: the phase of greatest conflicts between the PCI and us -- and this at the very time when our relations with the Spanish party are improving and our relations with the French party are getting stronger and stronger...."

Having exhausted his grievances, however, Zagladin discussed at length that which is still shared in the two parties' outlooks.

"One of the reasons why it would be absurd to talk in terms of a break is that when one gets down to specific issues -- for instance, the analysis of the international situation -- our convergence is almost total. Of course, we set aside the Italian Communists' assessment that the USSR's policy has contributed to the deterioration of the international framework. We sharply and resolutely reject this assessment. But apart from that, you too will have seen that there is very broad agreement. As far as Berlinguer is concerned, the only "imperialist" policy is that of the United States, of which we are absolutely convinced. What about the Middle East? And the issue of the Euromissiles, and Central America? Our agreement is complete. So let there be no talk of a break. We deplore the changes that have occurred in relations between the parties but we are sure that we can continue to have fruitful relations with the PCI."

Let us pass on from the Communist congress to a couple of foreign policy topics. How does Zagladin assess the German election results, Vogel's defeat and the return of the moderates to the government in Bonn?

"Of course the Social Democratic defeat displeases us. But it was no surprise, because we saw it taking shape several weeks ago. An artificial but very heavy atmosphere of alarm and danger was created around the German elections, and to this, very explicit external pressures against Vogel and his party were later added. And this favored the conservative forces. Now, however, it remains to be seen what line the new government will take. When Gromyko visited Bonn 2 months ago Kohl gave him ample assurances of the continuity of FRG policy toward the socialist countries. Of course the new government's stance over nuclear disarmament in Europe is not that of the Social Democrats: The approach is much more "American," more rigid. But, I repeat, we must wait a few months before we can form any assessment.

"However, any real backtracking seems to me impossible. Indeed, let us not forget that the Social Democratic opposition will exert a not inconsiderable influence on the new government's options...."

What news from Geneva? Is it true, as is being said, that the Americans promised Kohl himself that they will soon put forward a "new proposal" in the Euromissiles negotiations? There are persistent rumors of an abandonment of the "zero option," of a possible "intermediate solution...."

"You see," Zagladin said, "one must be clear about this. As far as we are concerned, 'intermediate solutions' cannot be valid: If, instead of deploying the envisaged 108 Pershing missiles, the Americans deployed 30 or 40 or however many, it would be the same for the USSR. We would have to take countermeasures. So if there is a desire to negotiate, it is necessary to proceed from the concept of 'reduction,' not an increase, of the missiles strength on both sides. In short, at least for the time being this talk about 'intermediate solutions' seems to us an attempt to conceal the intention of, in any case, attaining the deployment of the new missiles. And if this does ultimately occur, I will repeat what I told you earlier: We will have to deploy missiles equivalent to the Pershing II's, with an equally rapid flight time, in the vicinity of the United States...."

What is the atmosphere like in Moscow? How is the transition from the Brezhnevian paralysis to Yuriy Andropov's "new style" proceeding? And what real substance, what real political innovation, lies behind the "new style" formula?

Zagladin was silent for a moment, as if hesitating, and gathered his ideas: "I would like to reply to you with a very brief remark. What is new in Moscow? Well, Moscow is at work.... No, do not misunderstand me. It is not a matter, as you say, of the end of Brezhnevian immobilism, because there was no such immobilism. If anything, there was a kind of separation between political decisions and their implementation. Major delays, and inertia too, of course. Professional ineptitude on the part of some leaders. Thus it was that the party laid down guidelines for action to resolve the various problems, especially economic problems in recent years, but this action failed to occur. Bear in mind that the first to condemn this gap between principles and their implementation was Brezhnev himself back at the 1979 summer plenum and later at the 26th congress. Indeed, the substance of what we are now trying to implement, to set in motion, is exactly the same as was announced at the congress...."

"Except that now," Vadim Zagladin continued, "we are working harder. Much more scope has been granted to the initiatives of individuals or bodies. But at the same time more rigorous conduct is required. So if I were to give a piece of advice to Western Sovietologists, I would say this: In the post-Brezhnev USSR, there is not, as some of them believe, absolute continuity with the past, but neither is there a chance, a swing, as others among them believe.

In fact there are both. Continuity because, as I have said, the substance of the past months' action was laid down some time ago. And of course there is change. On the other hand, how could it be otherwise? For one thing, there is Andropov's personality, which is very different from Brezhnev's. Then one must bear in mind that in the space of a single year our party lost three of its top leaders: Suslov and Brezhnev died and Kirilenko became seriously ill and had to leave the Politburo. In their place we have Andropov, Chernenko and Gorbachev. So it is natural for different aspects of behavior and tones to emerge...."

How are the "consultations" with the Chinese proceeding? The second round of Russian-Chinese meetings, begun last fall, are going on in Moscow at the moment. After years of silence and bitter polemics, Beijing and Moscow have started talking to each other again. Perhaps in Europe, where attention is understandably centered on the question of the missiles and the Geneva negotiations, proper importance has not been attached to the fact that the Chinese and the Russians are again negotiating shared problems, seeking solutions and rebuilding -- albeit laboriously -- relations that seemed impossible to restore.

"Undoubted progress is being made in the dialogue with the Chinese and, as you can imagine, we consider this extremely important. My forecast is that this second round of conversations will continue for a long time. The Chinese are putting forward proposals for a solution to the Kampuchean problem, implying that we are in Kampuchea. The fact is an understanding must be found with the Vietnamese, who are themselves making proposals that seem to us very balanced. We shall see.... What we want is to attain a normalization of relations. And of course when you look at the successes of the past year -- the increased trade, the increased sporting and cultural contacts, and so forth -- you get the impression that we are on the right road...."

SOVIET GENERAL SAYS USSR TESTING CRUISE MISSILE

LD111122 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1850 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Moscow, March 10 (TANJUG) -- The commander-in-chief of the Soviet strategic missile troops, General of the Army Vladimir Tolubko confirmed in Moscow today, Thursday, that the Soviet Union also possesses a cruise missile which "is currently in the testing stage."

In an article published by the party organ KOMMUNIST General Tolubko, who also holds the post of deputy defense minister, said that if the United States develops and deploys its MX missiles, the Soviet Union will "develop its own new intercontinental missiles which will not be inferior to the U.S. weapons."

General Tolubko stressed emphatically that the Soviet Union will take this move solely as a counter-measure, and recalled Yuriy Andropov's statement of six weeks ago when the Soviet party leader said that if the U.S. actually installs new missiles in Western Europe, the Soviet Union will respond" in an adequate manner."

Warning that the deployment of U.S. cruise missile in Western Europe would also "confuse and complicate" the negotiations on the limitation and reduction of the two blocs' armament, General Tolubko expressed the Soviet Union's readiness to reduce the number of its missiles in Europe but only on condition that the U.S. refrains from the planned deployment of its missiles.

According to General Tolbuko, the Soviet Union wants to reduce the number of its SS-20, SS-4, and SS-5 missiles in the European part of the Soviet Union to 162, exactly the number of British and French medium-ranged missiles.

CHERVOV ON BALTIC SUBS, PERSHING DEPLOYMENT

PM101253 Stockholm DAGENS NYHETER in Swedish 8 Mar 83 p 30

[Harald Hamrin report: "Nuclear-Armed Submarines Could Be Withdrawn"]

[Text] The Soviet Union has not ruled out the possibility that the Baltic could form part of a possible future nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area. In such a case the Soviet Union's six nuclear-armed Golf submarines with a total of 18 missiles would be withdrawn from the Baltic.

Soviet General Nikolay Chervov said this in an interview with Lars-Eric Ortengren broadcast in the TV-Aktuellt program on Monday evening [7 march].

General Chervov's statement is remarkable since there have been no Soviet statements that are clear on this point. Former Soviet party leader and President Leonid Brezhnev hinted before his death in an interview with a Finnish Social Democratic newspaper that, in the event of the establishment of a nuclear-free zone in the Nordic area, he could envisage certain measures which would also affect Soviet territory. However, he never gave any details about what these measures might be.

General Chervov is one of the Soviet Union's foremost specialists on arms control questions. Even though his words do not carry the same weight as statements from the Soviet party leadership or foreign affairs experts, some significance must be ascribed to them.

"The Soviet Union has said that it is prepared to consider the question of other measures which affect our own territory in the area boardering on the nuclear-free zone in northern Europe," General Chervov said in the interview. In my own view this does not rule out the possibility that the Baltic could also be included in the nuclear-free zone."

Chervov then explained that the Soviet Union "does not hide" the fact that today there are six nuclear-armed submarines each with three medium-range missiles in the Baltic. This "is known" to the United States and to the other NATO nations, he said.

"When you look at the question of the inclusion of the Baltic in the nuclear-free zone, it would mean that these submarines would have to be withdrawn," Chervov said.

In another part of the interview Chervov also talked about the planned new U.S. nuclear arms in Europe -- the so-called Pershing II and cruise missiles. Chervov said that today there is approximate balance between East and West and between the Soviet Union and the United States in conventional arms as well as medium-range nuclear arms in Europe.

The deployment of the new U.S. nuclear arms -- primarily the Pershing II with its very short flight time -- would upset this balance, Chervov said, and mean a "real additional threat" to the Soviet Union.

"They would then force us to adopt countermeasures," General Chervov said. These countermeasures would not only affect the countries in Western Europe which will receive these missiles, but also U.S. territory. The Soviet Union and its allies have the capacity for this.

There have been similar warnings from the Soviet Union in the past. These have been interpreted in the West as a warning that the Soviet Union will install nuclear-armed medium-range missiles in Cuba, for example, from where they would be able to reach the United States in a matter of minutes.

USSR PRESENTS 'IMPORTANT INITIATIVE' AT UN TALKS

LD102029 Moscow TASS in English 1922 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Geneva March 10 TASS -- The Soviet delegation advanced an important initiative at today's plenary meeting of the Disarmament Committee. It suggested the talks on the problem of ensuring the safe development of nuclear power engineering with the aim of working out an appropriate international agreement. Head of the USSR Delegation V.L. Israelyan stressed that the problem of ensuring the safe development of nuclear power engineering is particularly important and topical now, it has been put on the order of the day by life itself.

The practical need of discussing this question, the speaker said, is connected with the process of the rapid development of nuclear power engineering. The number of non-military nuclear projects is growing rapidly the world over. The rapid development of civil nuclear power engineering is an undeniable fact of present-day life which has great future. This is why the overwhelming majority of states are concerned with the question of ensuring its safe development.

Everybody remembers the piratic raid of Israeli planes on a research reactor in Iraq.

The Soviet representative said that destruction of nuclear power plants of peaceful uses even by means of conventional weapons would actually be tantamount for its consequences to an attack with the use of nuclear weapons. Destruction of such installations as a result of the use of nuclear weapons would have catastrophic consequences of global nature. Therefore the need of ensuring the safe development of nuclear power engineering links organically with the task of preventing the unleashing of nuclear war. This is why the problem of ensuring the safe development of nuclear power engineering and prevention of nuclear war are two composite parts of the general task of removing the threat of universal catastrophe. The question of preventing attacks on nuclear power plants of peaceful uses must be the subject of serious talks in the Disarmament Committee to work out corresponding measures in the context of international law.

Mexico's representative A. Garcia Robles on behalf of a group of non-aligned and neutral countries declared in the support of the proposal to put immediately on the committees agenda the problems of averting nuclear war and opening talks on working out appropriate political and legal measures. He stressed that the final document of the first special session of the United Nations' General Assembly on disarmament, other fundamental documents of the United Nations, assess this problem as a priority problem.

It is noted in the Palace of Nations that the United States and its NATO allies are hampering the committees work on this problem, the work which is of vital importance for mankind.

UN HUMAN RIGHTS COMMISSION 'POLISH' DRAFT SCORED

'Impudent Interference'

LD101311 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 10 Mar 83 First Edition p 3

[TASS report: "Latest Attempt at Interference"]

[Text] Geneva, 9 Mar -- The entire course of the present session of the UN Human Rights Commission shows that the United States and its closest NATO allies are accomplices in the bloody crimes which are being committed against entire peoples by the racist regime of apartheid, the Israeli aggressors and the military facist juntas of Chile and El Salvador. The commission sessions spoke out loud of the extensive military, political and economic aid from the United States and several other Western countries to those who are most flagrantly violating human rights. The policy of systematic violation of elementary human rights in the United States itself -- with regard to blacks, Indians and Puerto Ricans -- also came under critical fire. The U.S. delegation also had to listen to a great deal about the freedom and tolerance enjoyed in that country by the Ku Klux Klan and the neonazi and neofascist organizations preaching the ideology of racism and hatred for other peoples. It was also pointed out that the United States is harboring thousands of Hitlerite war criminals.

And, obviously with a view to diverting the commission's attention from themes not to Washington's advantage, from the very acute problems of South Africa, the Near East, Chile and El Salvador, the United States resolved to drag out the "Polish question." This anti-Polish act of sabotage is also connected, people here point out, with Washington's characteristic -- albeit frequently unsuccessful -- desire to subject other states to its imperialist diktat. It was for these unseemly but entirely specific purposes that a draft resolution appeared with slanderous fabrications about the situation in Poland and attempts to push the commission onto the path of impudent interference in the internal affairs of a sovereign socialist state.

Addressing the commission session, Polish representative (G. Sokalski) categorically rejected the attempts at intolerable interference in the affairs of Poland and the Polish people and exposed the actions of the United States and several other hypocritical "defenders of human rights" who had launched intrigues against Poland in the commission. Everything said about "violations of human rights" in Poland, he noted, is a rehash of NATO propaganda.

V.A. Vorin, head of the Soviet delegation, resolutely swept aside all attempts at flagrant interference in Poland's internal affairs and convincingly showed the falseness and hypocrisy of the draft resolution connected with events in Poland and its harm to the commission's activity.

Speaking earlier during the discussion, he had stressed that it is not human rights which are the subject of close attention that the United States and its partners display in Poland nor the desire to help that country in the full implementation of these rights, but the possibility, which seems a real one to them, of achieving a change in the socioeconomic system in Poland -- a change, of course, in a direction convenient to imperialism. The U.S. Administration and the Western allies which follow behind it do not need rights and freedoms for the Poles but a Poland rebuilt on the Western model and belonging to NATO.

The delegations from the other socialist countries and many developing countries -- Zimbabwe, Mozambique, Nicaragua, Libya and others -- also firmly opposed attempts to interfere in Polish affairs and to divert the commission from burning present-day problems.

Using every method, resorting even to "arm-twisting" tactics, the delegations from the United States and its allies foisted the anti-Polish resolution on the session.

After the voting, the Polish representative made a statement drawing attention to the fact that less than half the commission's members had voted for the unfriendly action against Poland. The resolution, he noted, is an act of interference in Poland's internal affairs and has no legal force. It is unlawful, politically harmful and hypocritical. Poland, he said, will never take part in any form in its implementation.

U.S. Accusations Countered

LD110722 Moscow in Polish to Poland 1500 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Commentary by editor Aleksandr Danilov]

[Text] The inclusion of the agenda of deliberations of the UN Human Rights Commission of the so-called Polish question is proof of the further attempts by the West to interfere in the internal affairs of the Polish People's Republic and to take advantage of Polish problems to fan international tension. However, the persistence -- coupled with nervousness and irritation -- with which the delegations of the United States and the other Western countries tried to put Poland on trial also has other causes.

From its very inception the UN Human Rights Commission became a tribune for condemning the crimes of imperialism on a world scale. It was there that the outrage of nations at the criminal activities of the imperialists of the United States and their figure-heads in El Salvador found expression. As the local Catholic church ascertained, about 300 people lose their lives every week in that small country. Dozens of people kidnapped by the security services disappear without trace. The ruling circles of the United States, as has often been stressed during the commission's sessions, have become the direct participants in the genocide being carried out by the El Salvador military junta. The Washington Administration still supplies that country with large arms consignments. New tens of millions of dollars are being earmarked for aid to the cruel dictatorship. The soldiers of the pacification units sowing death on El El Salvador's soil, which has suffered so much, get their training in the United States. There operations are directed by American advisers.

With a forbearing attitude of U.S. imperialism in other Latin American countries, bloody crimes are also committed. During the 25 years of the despotic government of Duvalier, more than 50,000 Haitians were murdered. In Guatemala, about 60,000 people were killed for political motives. The bloody government of the dictator Pinochet has lasted for almost 10 years in Chile, where he seized power with the direct help of Washington.

Racists have transformed the Republic of South Africa into a huge concentration camp. The present American administration regards it as a natural ally of the United States. According to data from the African National Congress [ANC] there are at present more than 110,000 people in the prisons of the RSA. As regards the number of cases of imposition of the death sentence, the RSA occupies first place in the world.

The government if Israel still carries on a policy of cruel persecution of the Arab Palestinian people. The world was shocked by the news about the horrible crimes of the Israeli soldiery and its supporters in the bloody massacre in the Palestinian refugee camps of Sabra and Shatilla. Tel Aviv cynically ignores all UN resolutions containing demands for an end to the aggressive and expansionist moves by Israel. The reason for such an arrogant attitude is not hard to find -- behind Tel Aviv stands Washington.

The situation in the Western countries does not look any better. Their leaders like to instruct others on matters linked with observance of human rights. Ulster has been living in an atmosphere of repression for more than 10 years now.

More than 2,300 people have been killed during the British Government's war against the population of Northern Ireland. Witch hunting is still legal in the FRG. The job ban legislation in force in that country has claimed more than 5,000 FRG citizens as victims.

The frantic arms race in the capitalist countries is an undoubted violation of human rights and freedoms. This includes the unheard of increase in military spending, the cuts in social spending, and the many million-strong army of unemployed, deprived of the right to work.

All these problems, one way or another, have also been tackled at the present session of the UN Human Rights Commission. Attempting to divert the commission's attention from topics distasteful to the West and also to channel its deliberations onto subjects that suit imperialism, the delegates of the United States and some other Western countries, tried immensely hard to force this international form to discuss fabricated and provocative problems.

And so, in the UN Human Rights Commission, the United States and the other NATO countries succeeded in playing out yet another anti-Polish farce. However, throwing mud at People's Poland does not excuse the dismal activities by the United States and her allies in various countries of the world. The deliberations of the UN Human Rights Commission are continuing. Imperialism is still in the dock.

'ANTINUCLEAR' ROUND TABLE ISSUES STATEMENT

LD110008 Moscow TASS in English 1514 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Excerpt] Moscow March 10 TASS -- The participants in the round table conference which came to a close in Moscow have urged the world public to achieve a freeze on nuclear arsenals and an end to the arms race. For three days representatives of various religions and experts from many countries of Europe, Asia, Africa, Latin and North America discussed the economic and moral problems of a nuclear arms freeze. The round table conference was organised by the working presidium of the world conference "Religious Workers for Saving the Sacred Gift of Life from Nuclear Catastrophe" which was held in Moscow in May 1982.

"Our discussions," says a statement issued here by the round table conference, "have convinced us that all people of good will should press for implementation of a freeze on nuclear arms by mutual negotiations between leading nuclear powers. We must not let the world be destroyed in a nuclear holocaust thousands of times more horrible than those of Hiroshima and Nagasaki."

"We are convinced," stated the participants in the round table conference, "that manufacturing, testing, possessing, stockpiling and using nuclear weapons are morally evil and crimes against humanity."

"The doctrine of nuclear deterrence has led the whole world into a state of insecurity. There is a moral responsibility to replace this system with forms of constructive economic, political, cultural and other forms of cooperation among peoples living under different social systems."

The participants in the conference urged the governments of the USSR and the USA to reach agreement on implementing a freeze on nuclear armaments. They also appealed to the other nuclear powers to join in such an agreement. "We appeal to all governments to begin formulating and implementing plans for demilitarisation, disarmament and conversion of the economy from military-oriented production to civilian-oriented production." A freeze on nuclear armaments, the participants in the conference pointed out, should lead to a reduction in the production of conventional weapons as well.

WORLDWIDE SIGNIFICANCE OF SUMMIT CONFERENCE VIEWED

LD102154 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 0545 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Talk by international affairs journalist Dmitriy Volskiy in the series "Topical Problems of International Life"]

[Text] Good day, comrades. It was not by chance that India was chosen as the venue of the nonaligned meeting of heads of state and government. A quarter of a century ago this great Asian country was one of the initiators of the Nonaligned Movement founded by that outstanding Indian politician, Jawaharlal Nehru, along with 'Abd an-Nasir and Tito. He took a direct part in drawing up the fundamental principles of the Nonaligned Movement. From its very first steps, this movement -- which came into being as the response of young states that had liberated themselves from colonialism, to the attempts of the imperialist powers, above all the United States, to draw them into the blocs and alliances created by the West -- took on an anti-imperialist and anti-colonialist thrust.

No matter how hard various forces tried at various times to emasculate this basic thrust, they did not manage to accomplish anything. On the contrary, the anti-imperialist principles of the Nonaligned Movement became stronger. This became particularly evident at the previous, sixth, conference of the heads of government of the nonaligned countries, which was held in Havana, and during the subsequent period when Cuba was chairman of the movement. It is characteristic that the movement's anti-imperialist principles were wholeheartedly supported at the session of its Coordinating Bureau held in January in the Nicaraguan capital. Let us remember that Latin America is now one of the main fronts in the confrontation between the imperialist circles of the United States and national liberation forces. It is no surprise that Managua was, as it were, the threshold of the Delhi meeting. The basic directions of the work of the Delhi meeting were shaped to a certain extent there.

As the conference of heads of state and government approached, the importance not just of the anti-imperialist and anti-colonial thrust of the movement, but also the related orientation toward the struggle for peace, detente and international security increased. This aspect of nonaligned policy was also bequeathed by the founders. But it has become particularly important now that Washington under Reagan has openly adopted a course of preparing for a new world war. The message from the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and the USSR Council of Ministers to Indira Gandhi, chairman of the conference of nonaligned countries, notes that on this occasion the conference is meeting in international conditions which have seriously deteriorated. In such circumstances the significance of the struggle by the nonaligned countries against the danger of war is greater than ever before.

There are also greater opportunities for cooperation with all peace-loving forces, above all with the socialist states, which give unfailing support to peoples which have liberated themselves or are in the process of liberation. This was reflected in the meeting held on 2 March in the Kremlin between Yuriy Vladimirovich Andropov and Samora Machel, the Mozambique leader. The report on this meeting says that both sides stressed the responsible international role of the Nonaligned Movement and expressed confidence that the problems of preserving peace and strengthening the peoples' security, of broad cooperation among them in order to attain these goals, would occupy a worthy place at the conference of nonaligned states opening in Delhi.

As you listen to this talk, comrades, the conference is still continuing. But it is already clear that the majority of the participants are aware of the great responsibility the present generation bears toward the future.

The responsibility is borne by all people, by all countries and peoples without exception. That is why those who are helping to sow discord within the Nonaligned Movement, who are trying to isolate it from tried and tested partners such as the countries of the socialist community, are doing such a disservice to their children and grandchildren. It is precisely for such ignoble purposes that they are trying to make capital out of artificial questions such as the Kampuchean and Afghan questions, to propagate the notorious concept that the nonaligned countries are equidistant from Moscow and Washington, and that they are neutral in the confrontation between the forces of peace and the forces of war.

The London TIMES, for example, clearly gives away the secret wishes of imperialist circles when it talks about division and disagreement within the Nonaligned Movement, alleging that the movement has lost its strength. But these gentlemen are consoling themselves with futile illusions. They are no more likely to erode the anti-imperialist principles of the movement, to deprive it of strength, than they were before. Life itself shows the developing countries over and over again who their friends are and who are their enemies. Life also shows that the unification of the champions of peace and the strengthening of their cohesion, regardless of all the intrigues of imperialism and reaction, are now more important than ever before. After all, the arms race and the threat of nuclear war of course have the most ruinous consequences for the nonaligned states which have freed themselves from colonialism, as well as for the rest of mankind. It is no secret that the U.S. militarists are striving to turn large parts of the developing world, such as the Indian Ocean basin, for example, into bridgeheads for unleashing such a war, into theaters of military operations where hardly anyone could survive.

The advocates of the imperial policy of the United States are putting out false stories about the notorious Soviet threat. On the pretext of rebuffing this nonexistent threat, they are claiming the right to crudely interfere in the affairs of many countries and regions which are thousands of miles away from the United States. But this feature of the global imperial course of the United States takes particularly acute form in the Indian Ocean and south west Asia. There it contradicts the interests of the peoples of the nonaligned countries in a particularly flagrant manner.

In this respect, the beginning of the current year, 1983, has been marked by a series of events which appear at first glance to be unconnected, but which are really related to each other in a deeply organic way. One of the most important of these events, and unquestionably the most dangerous of them, was the coming into effect of the Reagan administration's decision to set up the so-called Central Command, Centcom for short. Its operational sphere covers no fewer than 19 states in the Indian Ocean basin and the adjacent Persian Gulf zone, from Kenya to Pakistan and Afghanistan, from Ethiopia to Iraq and Iran. U.S. imperialism is more and more plainly seeking pretexts to establish direct control over all this immense region where sovereign independent states are located. After all, it was none other than General Rogers, NATO supreme commander, who declared not so long ago that if a new world war were to break out, it would be most likely to start on the axis of the Near East-Persian Gulf-Indian Ocean. One has to admit that the general and his colleagues are themselves doing quite a lot to bring about such a development of events.

Let us note that all 19 countries included in the operational sphere of Centcom are members of the Nonaligned Movement. It is not surprising that many participants in the Delhi conference are most resolutely condemning the Washington Administration's new enterprise, which is directly aimed against their basic and vital interests.

Other aspects of the aggressive policy of imperialism have not been overlooked in Delhi -- southern Africa, for example. Not content with sending the troops of racist South Africa to occupy large areas of southern Angola back in 1981, or carrying out continual raids deep into the country and threatening to mount a large invasion against it, Pretoria has launched a similar, undeclared war against Mozambique. Its agents have become more active in Zimbabwe.

All these are nonaligned countries, and, of course, it is not a chance coincidence that all this is taking place at the same time as a rapprochement between the United States and the Republic of South Africa, which President Reagan has officially described as a friendly country.

But whereas the hotbed of tension in southern Africa is smoldering latently, as it were, in Central American it is clearly ablaze. The reason for this is to be found in the truly desperate attempts of U.S. imperialist circles, on the one hand, to strangle the revolutionary Sandinista regime in Nicaragua, one of the newest members of the Nonaligned Movement, and, on the other hand, to crush the people's uprising for liberation in El Salvador. Just before the conference in Delhi began, the press reported that President Reagan intends to allocate $60 million in additional assistance to the punitive regime in El Salvador and to increase the number of U.S. so-called military advisers sent to that country.

Observers note that this is probably not an isolated action. The British GUARDIAN, for example, writes that in connection with the White House's initiative, as the paper describes it, in El Salvador, President Reagan has given instructions for a complete policy review on Latin America, where we ourselves may note that the Nonaligned Movement is striking increasingly deep roots. The number of Latin American members of the movement is increasing. This is reflected, in particular, in the decision made in Delhi to appoint four cochairmen of the Nonaligned Movement from that continent. So the U.S. intrigues in Latin America are aimed against the movement as a whole.

The same applies to Washington's actions in other troubled zones, above all the Near East. There Tel Aviv's expansionist and chauvinist impulses are absorbed, as it were, into the global, imperial strategy of the United States. This creates an exceptionally explosive situation in the Near East. It is fraught with unpredictable consequences for the cause of international security. It inflicts suffering on the Lebanese and the Palestinians. There is also a threat to Syria, which is now being openly expressed not just by Israeli, but also by U.S. politicians.

But the peoples of the Arab world are not alone. The actions of their enemies are encountering growing condemnation from all international public opinion and all people of good will. French evidence of this, as it happens, is found at the Delhi conference where the theme of solidarity with the Arab peoples is being heard loud and clear.

The participants in the Delhi meeting also face quite a few problems of a different kind -- economic, social and political problems. There are no simple solutions to these problems. Is it really simple to escape from the snares of neocolonial exploitation? This exploitation is embodied, as it were, in the astronomical figure of $265 billion. That is now the combined debt of the developing countries. These countries regard the restructuring of the system of international economic relations on an equitable and just basis, the establishment of a new international economic order, as the way to get rid of the economic fetters. But it is far easier to proclaim such a goal than to implement it, especially at a time of crisis in the world capitalist system, when the industrial bourgeois states are doing their utmost to transfer the burden of crisis manifestations onto their weaker partners in the Third World. It is no coincidence but quite logical, therefore, that the Delhi conference should be paying such great attention to the problem of establishing a new economic order in the world.

Immense efforts and a strenuous struggle are required to tackle another pressing task -- the safeguarding of free choice of path of development. After all, there are no brutal and refined methods to which imperialism would not resort in its effort to foist models on developing countries which contradict the basic interests of their peoples. There are still peoples whose national rights are openly and crudely flouted by force of arms. One thinks of the Palestinian Arabs, the Namibians, the people of El Salvador. Do the conflicts which are artifically fanned between young, nonaligned states, such as the war between Iran and Iraq, not exhaust their strength?

As we see, a whole range of very different questions are on the Delhi conference agenda, making up its underlying themes, as they say. The conference documents are being drawn up at the present time. They will make it possible to pass final judgment on the results of the conference. But the laborious work and the cares of the young, developing states which make up the overshelming majority of the participants in the Nonaligned Movement, will undoubtedly remain central to the work of this prestigious movement, which now embraces at least 100 countries with a total population of 1.5 billion people. Cooperation between this movement and all peace-loving forces, above all the Soviet Union and the other socialist countries -- cooperation primarily in the struggle for peace and against the threat of war -- has been and remains one of the most important factors in world politics, one of the positive and beneficial factors giving the peoples historical optimism and confidence in the future.

PDRY PRIME MINISTER'S SUMMIT SPEECH REPORTED

LD101642 Moscow TASS in English 0938 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] New Delhi March 10 TASS -- The peoples of the whole world are following with much alarm the deterioration of the international situation in connection with the revival of cold war, undermining of the process of detente, emergence of new seats of tensions and escalation of the arms race, said 'Ali Nasir Muhammad, prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen, in his speech at the Seventh Nonaligned Summit Conference which is currently in session here. This situation necessitates a consolidation and unity of actions by the Nonaligned Movement and all peace forces the world over for resultely parrying the intrigues of colonialism and neocolonialism, which take place under the pretext of the defence of the strategic interests of imperialism and monopoly corporations.

The growing danger of nuclear catastrophe, the statements made from the overseas about "limited nuclear wars", the attempts of the USA at gaining military superiority constitute a threat to international peace, to all peoples of the world and the very human civilisation, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad said.

The emergence of new seats of tensions in the world is a direct result of the attempts of U.S. imperialism at tipping the balance of forces in the world in its favour, enslaving independent regimes and national liberation movements, reversing the world to imperialist rule.

Being a littoral state, the prime minister of the People's Democratic Republic of Yemen pointed out, we are seriously alarmed by the military activeness of the U.S. imperialism in the Indian Ocean. In disregard of world-wide protests, the United States is stepping up its military presence in that region, strengthening the military base on Diego Garcia Island. It is deploying an offensive navy in the waters of the Indian Ocean and the Persian Gulf under various false pretexts, threatening the security, sovereignty and stability of our countries and peoples, undermining interntional peace and security. We demand that the U.S. Central Command (Centcom) established by Washington to control operations in the Indian Ocean basin for interference in the internal affairs of the countries of the Near and Middle East be disbanded.

We again stress the need for declaring the Indian Ocean to be a zone of peace and the speediest convocation on schedule of an international conference on the Indian Ocean.

The struggle for peace is one of the most important objectives of the Nonaligned Movement, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad pointed out. Our country supports all the peace initiatives aimed at strengthening international detente, ending the arms race, countering the policy of stockpiling nuclear weapons by the imperialist circles. From the rostrum of the Seventh Nonaligned Conference we declare support for the Soviet Union's proposals and actions, whose aim is to preserve peace and save mankind from the threat and horrors of nuclear war, 'Ali Nasir Muhammad stressed.

U.S.-USSR RELATIONS CONFERENCE HELD IN WASHINGTON

LD110845 Moscow TASS in English 0815 GMT 11 Mar 83

[Text] Washington March 11 TASS -- TASS correspondent Aleksandr Lyutyy reports:

The need to normalise Soviet American relations and to broaden the dialógue and contacts between the two countries in all fields has become topical in the present period of international tension as never before. Such was the keynote of a one-day conference "American-Soviet Relations: A Dialogue Between Peoples," which was held at U.S. Congress. Senators and congressmen, prominent political and public figures of the USA, businessmen, scientists as well as representatives of the USSR Embassy in Washington, took part in discussing various aspects of Soviet-U.S. relations as well as problems which hinder their normal development.

Claiborne Pell, an influential member of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, has stated that an expansion of the dialogue between the USSR and the USA and the development of contacts between the two peoples have become a particularly urgent task now that a huge amount of weapons has been stockpiled in the world.

William Fulbright, a prominent political figure, former chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, made a speech at the conference, sharply condemning the Reagan administrations confrontational course in the international arena. He said that a government, the policy of which inflicts a tremendous damage upon American-Soviet relations, is now in power in the USA.

MORE ON REAGAN ORLANDO SPEECH, HOUSE FREEZE VOTE

LD110631 Moscow Domestic Service in Russian 1900 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Report by New York correspondent Andrey Ptashnikov]

[Text] The movement for reducing the arms race is becoming ever more active in the United States. Resolutions demanding an immediate freeze on the production and deployment of nuclear weapons have been passed by more than 140 U.S. towns, and now the House Foreign Relations Committee has voted for this proposal. During the voting, many thousands took part in antiwar demonstrations outside the White House and Congress. As was to be expected, the committee's decision has angered the U.S. Administration, which stubbornly opposes all disarmament measures. Thus, President Reagan, speaking in Orlando, Florida, called the freezing of nuclear weapons a deception that could lead to a consolidation of the USSR military superiority over the United States.

It is necessary to note that, while he was speaking, a protest demonstration against the militarist course of the White House was being held in Orlando. President Reagan, said representative Edward Markey, has opposed SALT I and SALT II and the treaty on nonproliferation of nuclear weapons. He is allergic to all arms control measures, said Edward Markey. Americans no longer believe assertions about Soviet military superiority. They are tired of talk of the need, because of it, to increase the U.S. nuclear potential. Indeed, what are we talking about is a continuation of the arms race. That is the main problem. If the U.S. does not renounce the production of new weapons, the Soviet Union will be forced to retaliate. Thus, the threat of a nuclear conflict will grow still more, Edward Markey said in conclusion.

WHITE HOUSE 'CAMPAIGN' ON ARMS SPENDING ASSAILED

PM101139 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 83 Second Edition p 5

[G. Vasilyev "rejoinder": "'Peanuts' for the Arms Race"]

[Text] As is reported from across the ocean, the White House has made the decision to launch a broad campaign to persuade the public that the United States is not spending too much money for military purposes. "This campaign," THE WASHINGTON POST reports, "is aimed at countering public opinion which has emboldened the critics of R. Reagan's military budget in the Congress." The decision to start the campaign, the newspaper adds, was made after public opinion polls "began to record a waning of support by Americans for the policy of increased military spending." Henceforth, U.S. Administration officials are to prove at every convenient opportunity that the billions of dollars being thrown by the United States into the furnace of the arms race are simply "peanuts" for America.

Let us say bluntly that this is not the easiest of tasks. After all, discussion of the federal budget for fiscal 1984, which envisages the allocation to the Pentagon of $280.5 billion ($35.5 billion more than in the current year) has just now begun in the U.S. Congress. And Americans know full well that in the forthcoming 5-year period it is planned to sacrifice almost $2 trillion to the cause of military preparations.

The plan which THE WASHINGTON POST describes is obviously a development of an earlier-adopted decision -- President Reagan's directive on creating in Washington a committee at Cabinet level to engage in "brainwashing" the public and "neutralizing problems such as the U.S. movement to freeze nuclear weapons."

The U.S. Administration is attempting to use anticommunist rhetoric, the kindling of tension and falsification of facts to take the place of any real steps toward curbing the arms race and achieving just international accords, which millions of people throughout the world are demanding today. This may delude some people for a short time, but not for long. As the great American Abraham Lincoln said, you may fool all the people some of the time; you can even fool some of the people all the time; but you can't fool all of the people all the time.

REAGAN CALL FOR CIA 'SPECIAL OPERATIONS' DISCLOSED

LD110756 Moscow TASS in English 0705 GMT 11 Mar 83

[Text] Moscow March 11 TASS -- "Washington's crusade against the forces of freedom and progress ranges from the creation of a 'fifth column' in other countries to stage-managing operations for a forcible destabilisation of the governments objectionable to the ruling circles of the USA," Vitaliy Korionov points out in PRAVDA today.

The news analyst of the newspaper writes: The Washington politicians are engaged in frenzied activities. They are twisting the arms of West Europeans, demanding from them consent to the deployment of new American medium-range missiles. The Pentagon is increasing the strength of the Rapid Deployment Force, is carrying out practical measures for the setting up of a "Central Command," whose millstone they wish to hang about the neck of 19 countries.

The U.S. State Department is also very busy, it has recently proclaimed a "programme of democracy and public diplomacy." The gist of this programme for massive interference in the home affairs of sovereign states is so obvious that it embarasses even some legislators on the Capitol Hill. The administration urges them to muster up courage.

As the Indian newspaper PATRIOT wrote, V. Korionov continues, it has been learnt in Delhi that President Reagan recommended the CIA to carry out special operations, especially in the developing countries. The term "special operations," the newspaper explains, is used to imply "physical removal of important political figures, instigation of local armed conflicts, incitement of ethnic, religious and racial conflicts, economic sabotage and political coups." As follows from the plans drawn up in Washington, among the countries named as the targets of American interference are, apart from India, also Cuba, Nicaragua, Libya, South Yemen, Ethiopia, Angola, Iran and a number of others.

Even in the American press, V. Korionov points out, quite a lot of reports have been published, indicating that a large group of all sorts of American agencies, committees, centers and other governmental, semi-governmental and private institutions have already been drawn into the implementation of the above-said "programme".

SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA ON CIA 'USE' OF PRESS

PM101155 [Editorial Report] Moscow SOVETSKAYA ROSSIYA in Russian 2 March 1983 First Edition carries on page 5 a 1,700-word article entitled "When the Secrets Come Into the Open" by Yu. Kornilov in which he describes the CIA's involvement with the media. He gives facts and figures for the increasing massive budget appropriations to the CIA and propaganda organs involved, in particular, with "psychological warfare" against the Soviet Union: the spreading of the "myth of a 'Soviet military threat,'" "other falsifications" and the production of "anti-Soviet 'reports.'" The writer details the CIA's use of journalists to spread propaganda and says that "in Western Europe there are at least 130 journalists operating who, it is known, constantly cooperate with the CIA. Washington as well has time and time again made attempts and continues to make attempts to dispatch the CIA's emissaries to the USSR in the guise of journalists.

REPORT ON U.S. CHEMICAL WARFARE PROGRAM

LD101018 Moscow TASS in English 0758 GMT 10 Mar 83

["Apologists of Chemical Warfare" -- TASS headline]

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS -- The U.S. war in Indochina was unprecedented for the quantity of chemical weapons used and for the territory affected, Academician Aleksander Fokin and Professor Filippov write in the weekly NEW TIMES [NOVOYE VREMYA] in its March 11 issue. The aggressors dropped over 90,000 tons of special herbicides and defoliants on Vietnam. The United States turned Vietnam into a huge test range where during the years of war, without thinking of possible consequences, it tested 15 various toxic agents and combinations, including the new toxic agent CS. More than 2 million Vietnamese were affected.

Under the pressure of the world public, who denounced the United States for the flouting of the international agreement on non-use of chemical weapons, the article stresses, the Nixon administration in 1975 ratified the Geneva protocol of 1925. But as was shown by time, that was rather a propaganda step designed to (?satisfy) opponents of the barbarous weapons, than the expression of consent with the world community. The United States did not think of laying up the work over the development of new types of toxic agents and systems of chemical weapons. On the contrary, exactly at that time secret work to develop binary chemical weapons was drawing to completion.

In the autumn of 1981 the Congress discussed the military budget of 1982 fiscal year. The Pentagon requested 455 million dollars for chemical rearmament. In 1983 the Pentagon hopes to get another 820 million dollars, and in 1984 -- 1,400 million dollars.

It is accidental that the United States was the only country which at the 37th session of the U.N. General Assembly voted against the [word indistinct] to accelerate the elaboration and conclusion of the convention on prohibition of chemical weapons, to refrain from production of new types of such weapons.

To get money out of tax payers, the powers that be, [word indistinct] intimidate the Americans with "a Soviet threat," but now in a new version. The political background of the Washington-inspired campaigns of slander is clear. The United States, seeks to divert the attention of the world public from its crimes, from the pernicious consequences of chemical warfare which it conducted in Indochina, from new plans to build up chemical arsenals.

The stocks of toxic agents in the United States now exceed 30-40 thousand tons. In its arsenals there are more than 3 million artillery chemical shells with a total weight of 150-200 thousand tons. Moreover, the U.S. Airforce has at its disposal tens of thousands bombs with nerve gas, thousands of units of spraying equipment, each holding up to a ton of the toxic agent. But the poisoners are not satisfied with that. Reports have lately appeared on the development in the United States of trinary chemical weapons -- evenmore sophisticated and terrible means of mass destruction, the NEW TIMES stresses. In one of the Army journals the head of the laboratory of chemical systems of the U.S. Army Kastenmeier recently wrote that his institution pays special attention to the development of new toxic agents, ammunition and other chemical warfare attributes. He noted with undisguised satisfaction that the United States Army was experiencing a period of revival in the sphere of chemical weapons.

TASS REPORTS WHITE HOUSE STAFF DISMISSALS

LD102305 Moscow TASS in English 2004 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Washington March 10 TASS -- According to THE WASHINGTON POST, there have been a number of dismissals from the White House staff, specifically among President Reagan's assistants for relations with different population groups. Faith Whittlesey, director of the White House public relations department, said that the "purge" affected six out of eleven high-ranking White House staffers, including those responsible for relations with labor unions and environmental protection groups, prominent members of the business and commercial community, Catholic and agricultural organisations, as well as the person in charge of coordinating administration policies with members of the national minorities -- black American and Hispanic groups of the population.

At the same time Faith Whittlesey hurried to assure newsmen that the "purge" had no ideological aspect to it.

However, the fact that dismissals affected -the persons in charge of the most vulnerable areas of the present administration's activities where it has insufficiently strong positions command instanteneous attention. It is well known that the White House's policy of sharp cuts in allocations for social needs caused serious frictions in its relations with labor unions, first and foremost, the biggest on them -- AFL-CIO. The pitfalls in "Reaganomics" have caused growing dissatisfaction of the country's business community. The administration's relations with the farmers have seriously deteriorated, while its relations with members of the national minorities have reached an all-time low, as the latter are the first to feel the impact of the anti-people policies of the present administration.

USSR, PRC SIGN COMMODITY EXCHANGE AGREEMENT

XINHUA Report

OW101754 Beijing XINHUA Domestic Service in Chinese 1610 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Moscow, 10 Mar (XINHUA) -- The PRC-USSR commodity exchange and payment agreement for 1983 was signed here today.

Jia Shi, leader of the Chinese Government trade delegation and vice minister of foreign economic relations and trade, and I. Grishin, leader of the Soviet Government trade delegation and deputy minister of foreign trade, signed the agreement on behalf of their respective governments.

The trade volume between China and the Soviet Union this year will increase by a fairly large margin over last year. China will import from the Soviet Union commodities such as steel products, nonferrous metals, timber, chemical fertilizers, cement, sheet glass, and chemical and machinery products, and will export to the Soviet Union minerals, meats and meat products, edible vegetable oils and oil products, silks and satins, cotton, textiles and clothing, light industrial products, tea, animal products and so forth.

N. Komarov, acting minister of foreign trade, met with Chinese trade delegation leader Jia Shi and attended today's signing ceremony.

Also present at the signing ceremony on the Soviet side were: Zhuravlev, first deputy minister, and Gordeyev, Zorin and (Makarov), deputy ministers of the ministry of foreign trade, and Kapitsa, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

Chinese Ambassador to the Soviet Union Yang Shouzheng was present at the meeting and signing ceremony.

Following the signing of the agreement, the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade gave a banquet for the Chinese Government trade delegation.

Moscow Report

OW101758 Moscow in Mandarin to China 1600 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] The Soviet Union and China signed this year's commodity exchange agreement in Moscow on 10 March. The agreement provides for a greatly increased trade volume between the two countries.

MOSCOW PAPER ON PRC EXPANSION OF WORK ABROAD

PM101247 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 10 Mar 83 p 3

[TASS report: "Working on Contract"]

[Text] Beijing, 9 Mar -- According to the XINHUA agency, the Chinese engineering and construction corporation, which is a centralized body in charge of questions of employing Chinese workers and engineers on a contract basis in other countries, plans to significantly step up its activity, a corporation spokesman said.

Last year it signed contracts to a total value of $140 million for the construction of 101 installations in 9 countries. In 1982 China obtained $120 million from this "foreign economic activity." This year the corporation intends to expand its activity in the Near East and North Africa.

USSR DEPLOYS 11 MIG-21'S ON ISLANDS OFF HOKKAIDO

Deployed Since December

OW101307 Tokyo KYODO in English 0710 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Tokyo March 10 KYODO -- The Soviet Union has deployed 11 MIG-21 supersonic fighters on Soviet-held Japanese northern islands since last December, a senior defense official told parliament Thursday.

Testifying before the upper house budget committee, Hirokazu Arai, a Senior Defense Agency official, also revealed that the Soviet warplanes scrambled from their bases on the four Soviet-occupied Japanese islands off eastern Hokkaido "several times" to intercept Japanese air self-defense force aircraft. Arai, who made the remarks in response to a question from Komeito dietman Akira Kuroyanagi, however did not specify the circumstances under which the MIG-21 scrambles took place.

According to defense sources, the MIG-21's first made their appearances on the northern islands -- Kunashiri, Etorofu, Shikotan and Habomai -- last December, but the Japanese Defense Agency had been unable to determine whether the aircraft were there on short missions or under long-term deployment.

Arai's testimony Thursday showed that the Defense Agency has evidence that Moscow has deployed the 11 MIG-21's as part of the Soviet air forces deployed on the islands. On Soviet Missile and bomber deployment in the Far East, Arai said the Soviet Union has deployed 100 SS-20 missiles at two places -- one in central Siberia and the other East of Lake Baykal. The Soviets appear to be building third site in its Far East region for basing the mobile SS-20's, he said.

Arai also told the upper house committee that the Soviet Union has based to backfire bombers at two Far East military bases, one near the coastal town of Sovetskaya Gavan opposite Sakhalin, and the other at Irkutsk, southwest of the Baykal.

MIG's Intercept Japanese Aircraft

OW101303 Tokyo KYODO in English 1114 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Tokyo March 10 KYODO -- The Soviet Union has deployed MIG-21 supersonic fighters on Etorofu, one of the Soviet held Japanese islands off eastern Hokkaido, Defense Agency sources said Thursday. The sources were commenting on testimony given in the Diet (parliament) earlier in the day by a senior Defense Agency official that 11 of the warplanes have been deployed on the northern islands since last December.

They also said that the Soviet planes have scrambled from Etorofu on three different occasions since the beginning of this year to intercept Japanese self-defense aircraft. The interceptions involved an air self-defense force helicopter on February 22, a ground self-defense force helicopter on February 24 and a P-2J patrol plane the same day, the sources said. They said all three interceptions took place within 50 kilometers of Japanese territorial air space off Hokkaido.

The Soviet Union was known to have MIG-17 fighters deployed at Tennei on Etorofu until the end of 1981. But they have since apparently been removed.

JAPANESE NAVY DECLARED READY FOR ACTIVE ROLE

LD110502 Moscow Domestic Television Service in Russian 1545 GMT 10 Mar 83

[From "The World Today" program presented by political observer Lev Novikov]

[Text] Speaking in the budget commission of the upper house of parliament, Japanese Prime Minister Nakasone declared that the country's warships are ready, in the event of war, to escort transport vessels of friendly states. In the opinion of local observers, by this he again confirmed that the Japanese Navy would fulfill the role of an auxiliary force in possible military operations by the United States in this region. As is known, Tokyo has already declared that in the event of exceptional circumstances, Japan would give military support to the U.S. 7th Fleet, and would take part in operations with it to blockade important international straits in the Far East. It should be stressed that these are straits in international waters.

JAPANESE UNION: CANCEL 'ENTERPRISE' PORT CALL

LD101002 Moscow TASS in English 0822 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Tokyo March 10 TASS -- The extraordinary congress of the All-Japan Municipal and Prefectural Workers' Union has closed here today with the adoption of a resolution demanding that the call at Sasebo Port by the U.S. nuclear-powered aircraft carrier "Enterprise" be cancelled. The resolution notes that the forthcoming visit of the "Enterprise" at Sasebo, which has been approved by the Japanese Government, pursues the aim of further strengthening the Washington-Tokyo militaristic alliance and making Japan give up the three non-nuclear principles: Not to have, not to produce and not to bring nuclear weapons into the country. The congress delegates stressed that the struggle against the use of Japanese ports by the Pentagon is an important and urgent political task of the country's working people.

RESULTS OF USSR-JAPANESE TRADE TALKS REPORTED

LD102341 Moscow TASS in English 1559 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS -- The contracts signed during the recent visit of a Japanese trade and economic delegation to the Soviet Union total more than 500 million dollars, a TASS correspondent has been told at the Ministry of Foreign Trade of the USSR. The main purpose of the talks, however, was not to sign contracts, which had been negotiated earlier, but to explore long-term prospects for cooperation and ways for overcoming todays artificial difficulties.

Contacts between the leaders of Japanese companies, banks and organizations and Soviet ministries, departments and foreign trade organizations will provide the basis for furthering mutual understanding and defining areas and specific projects for subsequent trade deals.

The leaders of Japanese companies were told that the USSR did not press its trade on anyone. At the same time the Soviet side does not impose any restrictions on trade with Japan or demand from it "self-restraint" or "the opening of the Japanese market". The Soviet stand reflects a desire to extend mutually beneficial trade on a long-term basis without discrimination.

It is believed in the Moscow business community that the visit of a trade and economic delegation to the Soviet Union, the largest and most representative delegation Japan has ever sent to another country, played a positive role and indicated mutual interest in and objective possibilities for the successful development of Soviet-Japanese relations in future.

In April 1984 a Soviet delegation will pay a return visit to Japan with a view to detailing ways and individual projects of cooperation, in particular, in opening up the natural resources of Siberia.

USSR'S ZHUKOV VIEWS FRANCO-SOVIET COOPERATION

PM091131 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 83 First Edition p 6

[Article by Yu Zhukov, chairman of the USSR parliamentary group's Soviet-French section: "From Commonsense Positions"]

[Excerpts] Paris-Moscow, March --For 3 long days, from morning to evening, 48 Soviet and 150 French statesman and public figures, deputies of the French Parliamant and the USSR Supreme Soviet, scientists and cultural figures, trade union representatives and leaders of major firms recently held a detailed discussion in Paris on the vital theme of "Franco-Soviet cooperation: Realities and Prospects -- the Present and the Future."

Organized by the "France-USSR" and "USSR-France" Societies, this meeting has acquired a special significance in the present complex international situation, a significance which was stressed graphically by the active participation in the meeting not only of representatives of the public but of members of the two countries' governments.

Jean-Pierre Chevenement, French minister of state for scientific research and technology, and V.P. Yelyutin, USSR minister of higher and secondary specialized education, opened this meeting with speeches. French Premier Pierre Mauroy sent its participants a message which said: "Franco-Soviet cooperation is already a living reality now and your activity and your discussions, helping our peoples to know each other better, will undoubtedly help to strengthen that cooperation."

Michel Jobert, French minister of state for foreign trade, who was visiting Morocco at that time together with the president of the republic, sent a long message in which he expressed regret that he was unable to take part in our discussions and expressed the confidence that Franco-Soviet cooperation would continue to develop to both sides' benefit. H. Puisais, personal assistant of the external relations minister, assured the meeting's participants that the French Government has the political will to develop this cooperation.

The discussion of urgent problems of Franco-Soviet relations in the political, economic and cultural spheres was businesslike and constructive in character. As the final report said, this fruitful dialogue showed that potential exists not just for intensifying the cooperation already being implemented but also for opening up new and original paths for cooperation.

As usual, the French mass media, which are in the hands of reactionary forces, not only completely hid all this from their readers but during the Soviet-French meeting even increased the pitch of their constant, monstrous and incredibly vile anti-Soviet campaign. But the French Communist newspaper L'HUMANITE gave a detailed account of everything that happened at our meeting and when, at the end of it, I had an opportunity to visit industrial cities and settlements in northern France, I saw clearly for myself the broad positive response generated among the working people by every move which promotes the positive development of Franco-Soviet relations.

The constant and pernicious gibberish about an imagined "Soviet threat" put about by a press that is hostile toward us cannot make people forget what the USSR did to save France, and all Europe, from the fascist yoke. The working people also remember and cannot forget the great significance that the development of economic cooperation between our countries acquired for them during the years of detente.

"We know that the Soviet Union will never attack France," Alphonse Delpoint, mayor of an industrial settlement near the city of Valenciennes, told me emotionally. "And the French will not, will never fight against the USSR."

In the ancient city of Arras which has twice been destroyed -- in the First and Second World Wars -- we, together with veterans of the resistance and participants in the peace supporters' movement, laid wreaths at the wall of the old fortress where the Hitlerites shot their victims. Some 209 marble plaques have been affixed to this wall in memory of those executed. And alongside the French names there were the names of Soviet people: "Vasiliy Dozenko, Red Army soldier, 15 August 1924-21 July 1944." "Vasiliy Porik, Red Army Lieutenant, June 1923-July 1944."

In the city of Denain where the Hitlerites executed the mayor and 18 other communists, we bowed our heads before the monument erected in their memory where the moving words from the partisan song were carved: "Friend, know that if you fall in battle another friend will emerge from the dark of the night to take your place." And Henri Fievez, the present mayor of the city, also a communist, who led the resistance movement in this area, described to us the legendary "Comrade Arthur" (his real name was Paul Lambert) who by means of a daring partisan raid freed 40 Soviet people from prison and then fought against the Hitlerites along with them.

This is not forgotten. That is why people in these regions protested so loudly against the attempts by the U.S. and NATO leaders to force France to abandon cooperation with the USSR -- primarily in the economic sphere.

But, of course, it is not just a question of emotions aroused by reminiscences of what happened in the war years. It is not just a question of emotions aroused by reminiscences of what happened in thewar years. It is that in the fierce economic crisis which has been mercilessly assailing France, like the entire capitalist world, for many years now, the development of business relations with the USSR and the other socialist countries is becoming of vital significance.

Reports emanating from the West about the crisis, unemployment and inflation always evoke our sympathy for the victims. But you have to be there, to see with your own eyes what this is like and to talk with people deprived of the hope of finding work to understand the full depth of the tragedy of their situation.

And when you see the dead plants, wander about the deserted streets and talk with people who have lost hope of finding work, you understand better the increasing significance for them of the development of economic ties with the socialist countries and primarily with the USSR whose market is stable and not affected by crises.

In Arras we visited a plant of the (Fove-Zhirel) firm which specializes in the production of railroad container cars, tank cars, freight cars and railway motor cars. Last year it had the good fortune to obtain a Soviet order for 33 tanks holding liquid propane which must be kept at a pressure of 32 atmospheres. This order could not have come at a better time.

"We rejoiced at having work to do," trade union activist Michel (Bayye) told me at a meeting with workers of the plant, "and we resolved to work in two shifts -- the first from 0500 hours, the second from 1500 hours -- so as to fulfill the order more quickly. This is not very convenient, of course, but when there is work to be done you do not think of the inconvenience...."

The order was received in August last year and the first tanks were dispatched to the USSR as early as November. I saw them -- 100-cubic-meter tank cars made of heavy gauge steel.

"We are assured of work for 1983. What will happen after that is hard to say," the plant director told me. "It is to be hoped that the Soviet Union will rate the quality of our work highly and we will receive a new order...."

Well, if the reassuring words about the readiness to develop mutually beneficial economic ties as expressed in the premier's message and in the ministers' speeches at our Paris meeting devoted to the realities and prospects of our cooperation now and in the future are put into practice, there is good reason to believe that the prospects of the workers of the (Fove-Zhirel) and many other plants will not be as gloomy as they are now in Denain.

When people approach interstate relations from commonsense positions, the artificially created obstacles disappear by themselves. As our trade representatove K.K. Bakhton announced in his report at the Paris meeting, in 1980-1982 the volume of Soviet-French trade will total R11.5 billion (FR85 billion) or 40 percent more than during the entire previous 5-year plan.

The visits to the USSR by French Ministers Edith Cresson, Jean-Pierre Chevenement and Claude Cheysson and the 17th session of the Soviet-French "grand commission," engaged in questions of economic cooperation, which decided to actively seek out opportunities for developing trade relations on a balanced basis, gave a considerable new impetus to cooperation between our countries in all spheres.

As the principles of cooperation between the USSR and France, signed at summit level in Paris in October 1971, said, the policy of agreement and cooperation between our two countries is designed to be a constant policy in relations between them and a constant factor in international life. And the more actively these principles are implemented, the brighter the prospects of our cooperation will be.

SOVIET DELEGATES CRITICIZE PCI CONGRESS

PM101243 Milan L'UNITA in Italian 7 Mar 83 p 3

[Vera Vegetti report: "Soviets Tell Us: These are our Points of Agreement and Disagreement"]

[Excerpt] Milan [no date given] -- The comrades of the Soviet delegation had promised us a meeting immediately after Berlinguer's concluding speech, to give us their impressions of our congress. Punctually, while the applause for the PCI secretary general's concluding speech was still sounding, Afanasyev, editor of PRAVDA, Vadim Zagladin, deputy director of the CPSU Central Committee International Department, and Solovyev, first secretary of Leningrad party gorkom, kept our appointment in a room at the sports stadium. Afanasyev, the delegation leader, spoke, and from time to time so did Zagladin, either to moderate or to add a polemical note.

"To speak frankly," Afanasyev said, "we of the Soviet delegation gained a not unambiguous impression a contradictory impression, not only of the congress but also of the document that preceded it." "However," Zagladin added, "the congress is not yet over and we do not know what documents it will approve. For the time being we will therefore refer to what we have heard hitherto."

"We have observed," Afanasyev continued, "large number of positive aspects. We greatly esteem your struggle for peace and disarmament -- the most serious problem of concern to both your party and ours, to both the Soviet and the Italian peoples. We greatly esteem the fact that the Italian Communists have made a positive assessment of our latest international proposals, especially CPSU Secretary Comrade Yuriy Andropov's proposals. These are proposals that display a radical character, that are of historic importance, because they open up major possibilities for further negotiations...."

"Within this sphere of peace, disarmament and the struggle for development and in favor of the Third World," Zagladin added, "we have broad opportunities for cooperation...."

Afanasyev went on: "There are other international topics on which our opinions converge -- for instance on what Berlinguer has said about the nonautomatic installation of missile bases."

"On the missiles issue," Zagladin interrupted, "the USSR is conducting the Geneva negotiations with the will to reach a positive result."

"And this is what the Italian Communists want too," Afanasyev continued. "We assure you that our government and our party will make every possible effort in Geneva to ensure that the negotiations led to a positive result."

"As far as your domestic problems are concerned," the PRAVDA editor added, "we are very worried and understand the difficulties facing the Italian people, the working class and your party; we are aware of the difficulty of the economic crisis, unemployment, inflation, young people's problems and the morality issue. These domestic problems were the principle points of your congress. We understand their importance and hope that they will be resolved, because we sincerely want the Italian people to emerge from these straits."

"Yes," Zagladin added, "the problems are many and real, and you have not yet found all the solutions. We hope that the democratic alternative strategy will succeed. It is not the first strategic line that you have formulated; now you have this one and we hope it is successful."

"Now let us move on to the less pleasant part of our assessment," Afanasyev said. "There is a whole section of the stances contained especially in the preparatory document with which we cannot agree, though subsequently these negative aspects received less emphasis in the congress report and discussion, and hardly any mention of them was made of them in the concluding speech."

"I would like to cite just a few examples. We lament the theory argued in the document that the possibilities of real socialism are allegedly exhausted and that there are no prospects for the countries of real socialism. We absolutely disagree. Our prospects are vast. Of course we have many problems, including difficulties which we discuss openly; we are seeking ways of resolving them and we will find them, though perhaps not as soon as we would like. Our problems are complex and difficult, but we are sure that we can resolve them.

"We also disagree with the theory that the Soviet Union has allegedly lost its pulling power, its propulsive thrust, in both domestic and foreign policy. We believe, on the contrary, that the USSR and the socialist countries are the decisive force that makes it possible to repel the reactionary and imperialist forces' offensive and that defends world peace. The very fact that there is a major mass Communist Party such as the PCI is partly thanks to the existence of the USSR and the socialist countries...."

"On the other hand," Zagladin added, "we greatly appreciate the support that the Italian comrades gave us for many years, in the past. Yesterday we were in Turin, the birthplace of the slogan: 'Hands off the Soviet Union'..."

"Nevertheless," Afanasyev continued, "I believe that if major problems for peace emerge in the world, the Italian and Soviet Communists will be united for their solution."

"Another theory with which we do not agree (?in the document, not in the report," Zagladin specified) is the one that argues (I am simplifying, of course) that the entire international situation centers on the bloc's problem. It was stated that the two blocs have equal responsibilities for the detente crisis. We do not agree. The Warsaw Pact was formed in the response to the creation of NATO, an aggressive bloc. From the outset we have proposed the elimination of both military pacts and we are still willing to eliminate the blocs.

"But throughout the world there are a number of events and hotbeds that have nothing to do with the two blocs, especially the Warsaw Pact. Take the Middle East, for instance.

What does the Warsaw Pact have to do with the Middle East? Also Latin America, Guatemala, El Salvador, Nicaragua, the Malvinas: What do the blocs have to do with them, what do the Warsaw Pact and the socialist countries have to do with those events?

"So it is not a question of blocs; it is a question of the existence of two antagonistic forces, the force of progress and peace on the one hand, and the force of imperialism and international reaction on the other: Every Communist must choose between these antagonistic forces."

The statement ends here, but there is a short footnote -- the request to "report without distortions" these stances, to which this journalist replied that such a request is unnecessary since the PCI paper publishes other people's stances without distortations or censorship. And this is what we have done this time.

SOVIET-GREEK RELATIONS 'MUTUALLY BENEFICIAL'

NC091822 Moscow in Greek to Greece 1600 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] Dear listeners: 59 years have passed since the restoration of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Greece. This is quite a long period, so one should be able to understand how the two peoples and their governments have faced the problems of development of mutual interstate relations, writes our commentator Vitaliy Menshikov.

During the decades that have passed Soviet-Greek relations have known periods of elevation and abatement. But the feelings of traditional friendship and sympathy which our peoples have had for each other for many centuries have always remained unaltered. As for our country's policy toward Greece, the Soviet Union, as officially stated at the summit level in Moscow in October 1979 during Mr Karamanlis' visit to our country, has no other policy toward Greece except for the policy of rapprochement, cooperation and friendship. This consistent policy was again consolidated in the course of recent Soviet-Greek summit talks in Athens. This line has been concretely expressed by the long-term development program in economic, industrial, and scientific-technical cooperation between the Soviet Union and Greece that was signed by Nikolay Tikhonov and Andreas Papandreou.

Every objective and prudent-thinking man, our commentator adds, cannot but admit that between the Soviet Union and Greece there are no disputed problems which could be an obstacle in the way of the development of good relations between them. On the contrary, the entire Soviet policy shows most clearly that Moscow is building the edifice of Soviet-Greek cooperation on the firm foundations of the identity of interests of our two countries, for the sake of the consolidation of peace and security in Europe and the whole world, as well as on the mutual desire for the development of the process of detente and broad international cooperation.

Selfishness and coincidental reasonings [singiriakoi silloyismoi] are alien to our policy toward Greece, Nikolay Tikhonov, chairman of the Soviet Council of Ministers, stated most concretely in his Athens speech.

Reading the Soviet-Greek documents recently signed in Athens we cannot but stress the equal and mutually beneficial character of the entire network of Soviet-Greek relations. The relations between our two countries are based on the principles of mutual understanding, friendship and mutual respect for the interests and needs of each other. In its relations with Greece, stressed the Soviet premier in his statement on Greek television, the Soviet Union is not seeking unilateral advantages.

Let us take even the trade between our two countries. In the last few years its volume increased by almost three times. The implementation of the long-term development program of economic, industrial, and scientific-technical cooperation will allow almost a doubling of trade, which will reach one billion rubles.

The Soviet Union, which is fulfilling the broad peaceful programs for the building of communist society -- programs for further development of its economic potential and further elevation of the Soviet people's prosperity. A thing that requires, of course, huge natural resources and economic means -- appreciates with understanding the needs of the Greek economy.

In the course of the Athens talks of the two countries' prime ministers the two parties showed mutual interest in new major projects of economic cooperation between the Soviet Union and Greece like for example, the construction of a gas pipeline which will take Soviet natural gas to Greece, the construction of an alumina plant, and the export of electric power from the Soviet Union.

The Greek peasants who produce agricultural products know very well that our country is one of the biggest and most trustworthy buyers of citrus fruits, tobacco and olives cultivated on Greek land.

Summing up the results of the recent official visit to Athens by Nikolay Tikhonov, the CPSU Central Committee Politburo stressed that the results of the talks between the prime ministers of our countries open fresh prospects for deepening the cooperation between our two countries in the interest of peace, detente, international security, and the restoration of the climate of mutual understanding between the Soviet Union and Greece, as well as the consistent development of Soviet-Greek relations in political, economic, cultural, scientific and other fields.

A characteristic sign showing the basis on which the Soviet Union is building its state relations with Greece is the active support of our country for the Greek people's desire to live in peace and good neighborliness, and for their real love for peace. The Soviet Union sides in favor of a Europe which will be free from nuclear weapons. We hail the idea for the establishment of nuclear-free zones in various parts of the continent, in both the north and the Balkans. We actively support the establishment of a zone of steady peace and cooperation in the Mediterranean. The Soviet Union's respective proposals are well-known both to the Greek public and the government of this country. These proposals provide for the coordination of measures of confidence in the military fields, a reduction in the armed forces, the non-installation of nuclear weapons on the territory of Mediterranean non-nuclear countries, the removal from the Mediterranean of nuclear-arms-carrying vessels, and the non-use of nuclear weapons against any Mediterranean country which does not allow the installation of such weapons on its territory.

The peoples of the Soviet Union and Greece appreciate, of course, the offer of our friendly cooperation in the task of international detente and the consolidation of peace in the Balkans and the Mediterranean. Our countries, as it was stressed during the meeting between Yuriy Andropov and KKE Leader Kaharilaos Florakis, possess all the necessary prerequisites for deepening the relations of friendship and cooperation between them. For their implementation for the benefit of the two peoples and of world peace, Soviet diplomacy is making its contribution. The date of 8 March 1924, the day of the restoration of diplomatic relations with Greece, will be a brilliant and unforgettable date in the history of Soviet diplomacy.

SOVIET REPORTAGE ON U.S.-GREEK BASE TALKS

Third Round 'Broken Off'

PM081103 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 6 Mar 83 First Edition p 5

[Nikolay Miroshnik "Commentator's Column": "Blackmail Tactics"]

[Text] Athens [no date given] -- The third round of the Greek-American talks being held in Athens on the future of the U.S. military bases on Greek soil has been broken off. R. Bartholomew, representative of the American side, has gone to Washington "for consultations."

These talks have been going on for some months now, but judging from statements by officials and press reports no real progress has been achieved. The Greek Government still insists that a new agreement with the United States must envisage a timetable for the gradual withdrawal of bases from the country, and "in exchange" Washington must increase its military assistance for the period for which it is granted the right to operate on Greek soil. The American side has no desire to give up the idea of keeping bases in Greece.

After visiting the Greek capital a group of American congressmen resorted to such open blackmail that it gave rise not only to a sharp rebuff from the Greek Government, but even to indignation among the rightwing opposition, which usually hands on Washington's every word.

Then the weekly U.S. NEWS AND WORLD REPORT entered the arena. An article published by the magazine warned openly: If the Greek leadership does not display "understanding" on the question of bases, the familiar history of military coups could repeat itself.

After the verbal warnings, the White House went over to sanctions, playing on the long-standing disagreements between Athens and Ankara on certain questions of bilateral relations.

These are not new tactics. But the times have changed. And the only real result yet achieved by Washington's crude pressure was a wide new wave of demands by the Greek public to throw out the bases unconditionally and as soon as possible. A characteristic example: For the first time in recent times the three biggest organizations of peace supporters, which are of different ideological orientations, held a joint demonstration in Athens against the American bases, thereby demonstrating that the vast majority of the Greek people are united in their desire to free their motherland of the foreign military presence.

U.S. Continues 'Pressure'

PM091119 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 7 Mar 83 Morning Edition p 3

[B. Lipovoy dispatch: "Greece-United States: Barefaced Pressure"]

[Text] Athens, [no date given] -- Representatives of the democratic public in Greece are expressing serious concern in connection with the fact that, literally on the eve of the next round of Greek-U.S. talks on the bases issue, the U.S. press is exerting barefaced pressure on Athens. The Pentagon is striving to preserve its bases on Greek territory.

Thus, an AP report from Athens directly suggested the result of the talks, indicating that they will conclude with the signing of an agreement for the further retention of the U.S. bases on Greek territory, because only in that event can Greece count on receiving military and economic aid from the United States.

People here note that, with this aim Washington has sent the aircraft carrier Nimitz to Greek shores, calculating that its presence could turn out to be a more convincing argument than the U.S. delegation's words at the talks.

'Serious Contradictions'

LD081328 Moscow TASS in English 1243 GMT 8 Mar 83

[Text] Athens March 8 TASS -- Another round of talks has begun here between Greece and the USA on the future of the American military bases in Greek territory.

The talks have been held since October 27, last year, in several stages and have not produced results so far by virtue of serious contradictions between the negotiators. Last time they were interrupted at the beginning of February this year when Reginald Bartholomew, the leader of the U.S. delegation, a State Department official, returned to Washington "for consultations". The Greek delegation at the talks is headed by Yanbnis Kapsis, deputy minister of foreign affairs.

The U.S. military bases and other facilities in the territory of Greece have been operating on a provisional basis since the 1953 Greek-U.S. agreement on the use of Greek bases by the Americans expired more than six years ago. Proceeding from the important strategic position of the facilities, the USA and the NATO military top leadership continue to put a vigorous pressure on Athens with a view to securing the preservation of the bases by sealing it in a new agreement.

Widespread indignation in Greece lately has been aroused by the U.S. Administration's decision to boost military aid to Turkey. This, in the opinion of the Greek Government, may seriously upset the correlation of forces in the region and "tell on the course of negotiations on the bases". Besides, Washington is trying to make use of the question of the granting of aid to Athens as a device of blackmail, linking such a possibility with a favourable-to-the-USA outcome of the talks.

According to a spokesman of the Greek Government, if at the talks the USA declines to meet the Greek conditions, Athens will demand the dismantling of the U.S. bases. The Greek side insists, in particular, on fixing an exact schedule for the closure of the Pentagon's facilities in the country's territory in future.

Resumption of Talks

NC092024 Moscow in Greek to Greece 1900 GMT 9 Mar 83

[From the "Events and Views" program]

[Text] Dear listeners: As is known, the talks between Greece and the United States for signing a new military agreement have been resumed in Athens. Our commentator writes:

(?This) is the fourth round of the meetings between representatives of the two countries which began last October. Although the talks are held in an atmosphere of secrecy, reports have leaked to the Greek press on the U.S. intransigent stance at these talks. In the opinion of political observers in Athens, the Americans obviously intend to dictate to the Greeks their own terms for the signing of a new agreement, without taking into consideration the new political situation which has already been shaped in Greece.

The accession to power of the Socialists, the continuing process for democratization in Greece and the growing popular demand for the abolition of the bases of death in Greece are obvious characteristics of the changes which apparently in the U.S. capital they do not want to see. There they do not even want to take into consideration the Greek Government's stance at the talks. Athens continues to insist on the position that the new agreement with the United States must provide for a precise timetable for the removal of the bases from Greece. However, the Pentagon does not even condone the very idea of abolition of these bases even at some [future] time.

The American representatives at the talks have been trying to secure firm guarantees from the Greeks for the further presence of their bases on Greek territory in exchange for the economic and military aid to Greece.

This is most clearly concluded from U.S. President Ronald Reagan's letter to Greek Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou, which was recently released. In his letter the U.S. President stressed that the United States will examine the program for increase in aid to Greece along with the continuing Greek-U.S. talks for a new military agreement. What else is this, if not open pressure on the Greek Government?

From verbal and written warnings, the White House has crossed onto sanctions taking advantage of past differences between Athens and Ankara. For example, Washington (?proposed broadening) aid to Turkey for 1984 but kept aid to Greece at the old level. Some U.S. legislators close to the Pentagon hint that the aid to Greece can be further reduced if the latter fails to (?view) with understanding -- as it did in the past -- the special role of the U.S. bases in Greece. As a natural result of the cruel pressure [words indistinct] there has been new elevation of the mass movement in Greece to free the country from U.S. military presence.

PRAVDA ON TURKEY-USSR TIES, NATO INFLUENCE

PM091711 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 7 Mar 83 First Edition p 6

[Correspondent A. Filippov dispatch: "Izmir's Many Faces"]

[Excerpt] Izmir, March [no day given] -- Having dropped anchor the ocean-going freighters form a long line in the roadsteads. With lengthy hooter blasts lost in the hubbub of a city of 2 million people they remind you that they are there, requesting a portside moorage. Izmir is one of the Mediterranean's largest ports. It is a real working port, in operation 24 hours a day. Over 50 percent of Turkish exports leave through these sea gates. Figs, citrus fruits, raisins, olives, almonds, walnuts and various leather and textile goods produced in the Aegean economic zone form the basis of those exports.

The port's workload has increased especially since the oil refinery built with the USSR's assistance came into operation. We bus'nessman have enough concerns, too, (S. Arel), general manager of the Izmir trade corporation, said. After all, Turkey's business ties with the outside world, including the Soviet Union, are constantly developing.

However, my interlocutor continued, I should also like to speak of something that alarms us. Turkey trades with the Common Market but recently the West European partners have begun to break agreements increasingly often. The interests of Izmir traders and producers also suffer from discriminatory actions which take the form of unexpected EEC reductions in quotas or increases in customs duties on Turkish textiles, vegetables and fruit exported to Western Europe. At the same time, various trade and economic concessions are demanded from Turkey.

Under these conditions, Turkey is compelled to seek new markets, (S. Arel) continued. Without breaking off ties with the EEC, on which we depend for credits, the country is stepping up trade and economic relations with Near and Middle East countries. The contracts for construction work and the provision of various services by Turkey to those countries total over $13 billion.

The talk turned to Soviet-Turkish business ties. (S. Arel) stated unhesitatingly that they benefit Turkey. The enterprises in whose construction the Soviet Union has participated or is participating are now the profitable leading facilities in the domestic metallurgical, power and chemical industries. Turkey is interested in developing trade and in buying Soviet vehicles, machinery and equipment. The accumulated experience of business cooperation, (S. Arel) stated, indicates that useful ties between the two states must be developed. Although, he added, there are people who think otherwise.

The final comment, it seems, is no coincidence. The opponents of Soviet-Turkish good-neighborliness are continuing their subversive actions. The weekly YANKI writes of all this with particular alarm. The activity of certain internal forces supported by the West and aimed at curtailing the good-neighborly relations and trade and economic cooperation are in Turkey's interests least of all, the magazine states. We must not allow the fruitful cooperation to be undermined and everything positive achieved in USSR-Turkish relations to be discredited in the name of those egotistical forces' dubious political interests. The Soviet Union is a reliable business partner and a peace-loving neighbor.

An annual international fair in which our country traditionally participates is held at Izmir's leisure park, built in the late twenties according to Soviet architects' plan. The Soviet pavillion is always full of visitors. Last year over 3 million people visited it in 20 days.

The city's business circles greeted the agreement on trade turnover between the Soviet Union and Turkey for 1983-1985 signed this February with heightened interest. Under this agreement Turkey will receive, in particular, machinery, machine tools, transport facilities and medicines. The USSR, in turn, will receive traditional Turkish exports.

...the curfew which had been in operation for almost 2 years has been lifted in Izmir as in other cities. In general, the life of this maritime city has returned to normal. Ocean-going liners and aircraft bring in hundreds of foreign tourists. Spending a day or two in the city, they descend on the sandy beaches of the warm Aegean Sea or wander for hours among the marble ruins of the ancient Greek city of Ephesus. As darkness sets in, crowds of people throng to the seafront with its sea of lights and its many cafes and fish restaurants.

The maritime city is teeming. But precautions have perhaps even been intensified, particularly in the region where the command headquarters of NATO's ground forces in southeast Europe is located. There are motorized army and police patrols everywhere. They comb the backstreets and alleyways, stop suspicious passers-by, check their documents and painstakingly examine the trunks of cars. On the walls of houses and fences you can see vast typewritten lists of people. The inscription says that these are all terrorists sought by the police. It is rare that the national television service does not report yet another caputre of terrorists and other political opponents of the existing regime.

The democratic organizations which formerly too, part in the movement of struggle for peace, detente and for ridding the country of the U.S. military presence remain proscribed and their activists are on trial or in prison. But the repressive measures have not suppressed people's desire to struggle for their ideals. The demands for the removal of foreign bases and withdrawal from the aggressive [NATO] -- grouping remain on the agenda. The city's inhabitants watch the U.S. servicemen who appear in its streets with eyes full of hostility.

UN MEDIATION FOR CYPRUS SOLUTION ENDORSED

NC062011 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1800 GMT 6 Mar 83

[Text] On 7 March the conference of the leaders of states and governments of the nonaligned countries in which Cyprus will participate will begin its work in New Delhi. Cyprus' current leadership, headed by Spiros Kiprianou, recently elected for another term, has declared its devotion to the nonaligned countries' line. Our commentator writes:

The results of the recent presidential elections in Cyprus again confirmed that the majority of the Cypriots support the consistent continuation of the policy of deceased President Makarios which aims at the maintenance of a sovereign, independent state which supports the stand of the nonaligned policy.

Devotion to this line was expressed in the joint minimum program that was passed by AKEL and the Democratic Party which stated that the republic's foreign policy should be an anti-imperialist, anticolonialist and antifascist policy of peace and a nonaligned policy in support of detente and reciprocal understanding. It is not difficult to see why such a policy has won the support of the majority of voters. Who else if not the Cypriots know about past and present machinations by U.S.-NATO circles which are interested in undermining the independence of the Cyprus republic?

The declaration of Cyprus' independence was determined by attaching it to the London and Zurich agreements which gave the right to the NATO states to meddle in the republic's internal affairs. To what has this led? It has led to the tragic events of 1974 when the very existence of the young Cypriot state was disputed and despite the fact that efforts to determine Cyprus' fate behind its people's backs have failed, the threat against the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of Cyprus realistically exists. One of the basic causes for this lies in the role that has been given to Cyprus in the eastern Mediterranean strategy of the United States and its NATO allies.

U.S.-NATO generals would like to change Cyprus into their military bridgehead. U.S. diplomacy has already worked out more than one variations for the solution of the Cyprus problem each of which, in one form or another, envisages the limitation of the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cyprus state. The determined stance the Cyprus Government has taken against the West's efforts for peace [in the island] has compelled imperialist diplomacy to resort to more refined and disguised maneuvers. The United States and NATO are trying to present themselves in the role of impartial mediators. However, it is quite clear that such a position is destined to sow doubts among the Cypriots in connection with the West's good aims; prove the inefficacy of UN mediation efforts.

In this connection it is worth recalling that only in the last 8 years more than 20 resolutions were passed in the United Nations organization constituting the basis for the political settlement of the Cyprus problem. Nevertheless, many of these resolutions have not so far been implemented in view of the temporizing policy of the NATO member countries. The United States and NATO are sabotaging the implementation of the UN resolutions, seeking to impose on the Cypriots a formula for the settlement of the situation in Cyprus that will be beneficial for the United States and NATO.

Despite the multiple forms of the Western plans and initiatives, their aim is only one: Act, by sidestepping UN resolutions, to remove the discussion [of the Cyprus problem] and then solve the Cyprus problem in the depths of NATO. The Cypriot people decisively oppose these plans and rely on the help and solidarity of primarily the socialist and nonaligned countries.

As the participants to the Political Consultative Committee of the Warsaw Pact member countries' conference in Prague have stressed, an increasing contribution to the elimination and aversion of critical situations is being made by the Nonaligned Movement whose practical steps toward this direction are worthy of recognition and support by all states. The participants to the 6th Nonaligned Movement Conference in Havana in 1979 supported the Cypriots' just cause. There is every reason to expect the say of the conference of the leaders of states and governments of the nonaligned countries which begins its work in New Delhi on 7 March.

As regards the Soviet Union it steadfastly supports the Cypriot people in their struggle against designs by the U.S.-NATO imperialist circles, which aim at the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cyprus republic. The chairman of the USSR Council of Ministers, Nikolay Tikhonov, stated during his recent visit to Greece, that the Soviet Union behaves with respect toward the nonaligned policy of the Cyprus republic, supports the just and stable settlement of the Cyprus problem on the basis of the corresponding UN resolutions through talks which will take into consideration the legitimate interests of the two communities.

We, Nikolay Tikhonov stated, support the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Cyprus and the abolition of military bases. The holding of a representative international conference on Cyprus within the UN framework in our opinion would enhance the just settlement of the Cyprus problem, concludes our commentator.

JOINT RELATIONS HAILED ON KIPRIANOU REELECTION

NC022007 Moscow in Greek to Cyprus 1800 GMT 2 Mar 83

[Text] On the occasion of Spiros Kiprianou's reelection as president of the Republic of Cyprus the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium sent him a congratulatory telegram wishing him success in that office. Spiros Kiprianou warmly thanked the Soviet Union for the congratulations. The telegrams express the conviction that relations of friendship and cooperation between our countries will continue developing in the future. Our commentator writes:

For 20 years now the Soviet Union has had multilateral relations with the Republic of Cyprus. During this period the young independent state has lived through many difficulties and sometimes through tragic periods in its history. However, there has been no instance when the Cypriot people did not feel the support and solidarity of the Soviet citizens with their struggle for true independence. Within the framework of its foreign policy moves, the Soviet Union contributes to the strengthening of Cyprus' independence, the elevation of its role in the international arena and to ridding the country of neocolonial bonds and reacts decisively and consistently to foreign intervention in the Cypriots' internal affairs.

Distinguished Cypriot social and political personalities and leaders of the island's greatest political parties many times have gratefully assessed the positive role the Soviet Union is playing in international affairs and specifically in the Cyprus issue. Last year, while in the Soviet Union on a working visit, President Spiros Kiprianou stated to the press: I want to express our deep gratitude to the Soviet Union for the valuable support it gives to the Cypriot people in their struggle for freedom and the triumph of their just cause.

This visit, our commentator goes on to write, has been one more convincing proof of the good relations existing between our countries and peoples. In the communique that was issued on the results of Spiros Kiprianou's stay in the Soviet Union, the two parties stressed that Soviet-Cypriot relations are stable and continue to develop for the good of our countries' peoples. The two parties also clearly supported the deepening of cooperation between the Soviet Union and Cyprus in the political, economic, scientific, cultural and other fields and the strengthening of contacts and relations between deputies, ministries, services and social organizations. During the course of the visit by the head of the Cyprus state in Moscow a new, long-term agreement for cooperation in the fields of television and radio and for avoidance of double taxation was signed.

During the talks in the Soviet capital, special significance was given to commercial-economic cooperation between our countries which is mutually beneficial, and for this reason is also a stabilizing factor in general Soviet-Cypriot relations. The Soviet Union and Cyprus in all have signed more than 20 various long-term agreements and pacts regulating relations between the two states. Our country steadfastly supports the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Cyprus republic as well as its nonaligned policy and asks that the well-known UN General Assembly and Security Council resolutions be immediately implemented.

However, many things depend on mutual understanding between the two Cypriot national communities whose paternal home is the island. Each of communities has its own interests which in any case should be taken into consideration. It is equally obvious that these interests cannot cloud the overall state interests of the guarantee of the integrity, independence and sovereignty of the Cyprus republic. The multilateral way for the settlement of the situation in the island envisages the solution of the external aspects of the Cyprus issue. The Soviet proposal for the convening a representative international conference on Cyprus under UN auspices precisely aims at this. The Soviet Union's consistent principled position on the Cyprus issue is a determinative, positive factor in the work for deepening and strengthening the relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Cyprus republic, which acquired new impetus during last year's visit by the Cypriot president to the Soviet Union. Our commentator concludes: In the telegrams exchanged between the USSR Supreme Soviet Presidium and President Kiprianou, the wish of the two parties was once again affirmed for the development in future too of relations of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and the Republic of Cyprus.

APN'S BEGLOV VIEWS FRG SITUATION AFTER ELECTIONS

AU101436 Vienna ARBEITER-ZEITUNG in German 10 Mar 83 p 4

[Article by APN's Spartak Beglov: "After the German Elections -- From the Soviet Viewpoint: There Is No Such Thing as 'a Little Bit Pregnant'"]

[Text] Her majesty, the crisis, has predetermined the results of the FRG Bundestag elections. The FRG Bundestag elections. The FRG citizens let themselves be guided not so much by trust in the candidates but by fear -- fear of losing their jobs. The unemployment figures reached the record mark of 2.5 million, the chain reaction of enterprise shutdowns exceeded a monthly rate of 1,200.

As always in such cases, the rightist-Christian coalition did not hesitate to blame all this on the 13-year government of the Social Democrats. To ensure that all other fears give way to the fear of losing one's job, the rightist Christians not only identified themselves with the employers, but also approved the campaign of psychological pressure on the working people that was unleashed by the entrepreneurs under the motto: The votes cast for the Social Democrats will eliminate the guarantees for orders for the enterprises after the elections.

The results of the elections, however, by no means move the factor of antiwar sentiments in the West German political scene into the background; they are by no means an indication of any weakening of the mass opposition to the plans to deploy U.S. nuclear missiles. All public opinion polls conducted in the FRG during the past few months have shown that the number of those who agree to these plans is constantly declining. Within the SPD the share of these people declined from one-third in 1981 to one-quarter in 1983, and in the ranks of the CDU from 51 percent in 1981 to 38 percent in 1983.

No event in the recent past has given the FRG population any reason to feel more sympathetic to these missiles as harbingers of nuclear death. The new Soviet proposal (to reduce nuclear intermediate-range weapons in Europe to one-third on both sides, with each side keeping the same number both of missiles and nuclear weapon-carrying aircraft) has, moreover, added a new dimension to the situation: It has opened the door to a solution. It would be an act of utter irresponsibility to slam this door shut.

This does not make it difficult to imagine the Soviet reaction in the event that the newly formed FRG Government attempts to prevent a drastic and mutually acceptable solution of the question through some "interim variants," prepared in advance in Washington.

In Moscow people say: It is impossible to be "a little bit pregnant." There is no such thing, either in nature or in politics. Since there is every indication that it is in any case the aim of these "variants" to permit the Pentagon to train either Pershing missiles or cruise missiles (or both) on the USSR from West German soil, all unacceptable consequences of this, both for the security of the USSR and the security of all of Europe, will remain effective.

In the 5 months before the FRG elections, the Soviet press made no bones about its astonishment at Washington's presumption to induce Bonn to follow the U.S. policy in every respect, as if the FRG could no longer pursue any policy of its own. If earlier certain campaign considerations were involved, then it is necessary -- now that everything has been clarified -- that common sense and their experiences open the eyes of the FRG citizens to the danger of such reckless wasting of the common capital of detente. Indeed, this capital can still render good services, both regarding the mutually advantageous cooperation and the safeguarding of jobs in the FRG and regarding the political stability in central Europe which developed in the wake of the treaties concluded in 1970-72. But it can be particularly useful in solving the task of actually lowering the level of military confrontation, delivering West Germany from the fate of a "nuclear suicide" in the Pengaton scenario of a "limited" (that is, European) nuclear war.

All this is by no means brought up by Moscow to "split" NATO or to "uncouple West Europe from the United States" as asserted by U.S. propaganda. The ability to pursue an independent policy (paradoxical as it may sound) is today especially necessary for correcting that slant in the NATO course which makes impossible a new orientation toward a partnership between NATO and the USSR and the whole Warsaw Pact, a partnership for which conditions have matured designed to solve the paramount question: the question of averting the nuclear danger.

FRG 'RULING CIRCLES' SHIFT TO THE RIGHT

DW101345 Moscow in German to Germany 1700 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Vladimir Ostrogorskiy commentary]

[Text] The thesis stated in many commentaries of a shift to the right among the West German people whose political views allegedly return to the standard of the Adenauer era is absolutely untenable, I think. In my view the press of the monopolies which claims this makes wishful thinking appear as reality. The shift to the right has not taken place among the West German people. The shift to the right has taken place among the ruling circles in the FRG, in particular, among the industrial and banking elite. They are afraid of an aggravation of the social differences in the FRG which accompany the economic crisis, and they are afraid of growing protests among the youth and broad sections of the working people against social injustice.

In the present situation West German capitalists even consider talks about social reforms in which the SPD has specialized to be dangerous. They even see a danger in the weak and inconsistent attempts of the Social Democratic leaders to preserve the social achievements of the working people and to grant the trade unions, the citizens' initiatives and the peace movement a certain influence in state affairs. That's why the monopoly capital in the FRG no longer supported all Bundestag parties as it had done for many years but concentrated its support on the Kohl and Genscher parties.

Although one does not talk about the sources financing the election campaign funds which remain locked up to searching eyes and which gave the conservatives and liberals like Genscher the possibility of launching an unprecedented costly agitation campaign, one could talk about a direct interference by the capitalists.

We mean by this the open threats by entreprenneurs' associations not to make industrial investments and to lay off additional hundreds of thousands of workers, if there were to be a change of government in Bonn.

How else could these threats be explained if not by the switch of West German capital from flirting with the ideas of social partnership and other reformist baits for the working people to the methods of direct suppression of social protests. Which in the opinion of the economic barons are more reliable in the present situation?

As for the West German voters, however, we could ask: Did they on 6 March vote for the burdens of the present economic crisis to be shifted exclusively on the workers' shoulders? Did they vote for police measures to be taken against those citizens who are aware of their social responsibility, against those who try to counteract the destruction of the environment and of housing funds, and against those who oppose discrimination in the educational sector as well as the revival of racism and neonazism? Finally, did the West German voters vote for the FRG territory to be turned into bases for the new U.S. missiles and lastly into a starting point of a nuclear war in Europe hatched by the Pentagon?

No, in our view not even those voting for the CDU/CSU and the FDP voted for all these things. They, too, voted for social justice and high employment, for a democratic order and not lastly for peace and disarmament which would guarantee security on a more durable basis than the balance of terror. We assume that the West German voters voted for these very things, because we are not aware of any election campaign speech by representatives of the government coalition parties, which did not contain pledges of justice and prosperity, a high degree of employment, democracy and order as well as peace and disarmament.

It is a different thing for the CDU/CSU and FDP representatives to have preferred not to dot the i. How does social justice square with the further curtailment of the social security system? How can the democratic order be brought into agreement with vocational bans or with the intensification of the repressive state apparatus uncontrolled by the democratic public? How can the unconditional support for the big power ambitions of the United States and for Washington's course aimed at achieving military superiority be brought into line with the ascertainments of dedication to the policy of peace and disarmament? They did not say a word about it and what could they have said anyway.

Those who at present propagate the idea of a shift to the right among the West German people certainly do not do that without reason. Such claims are intended to provide a sort of carte blanche for implementing a policy which no one of good will and no one advocating social justice, democracy, peace and disarmament will or logically can approve of. It must be doubted, however, whether such a trick can be successful in a country which is so rich in experience like the FRG whose people must know where a reactionary course in the country as well as in the international arena can lead to.

GROMYKO, KUWAITI FOREIGN MINISTER EXCHANGE GREETINGS

LD102031 Moscow TASS in English 1645 GMT 10 Mar 83

[Text] Moscow March 10 TASS -- Andrey Gromyko, member of the Politbureau of the CPSU Central Committee and minister of foreign affairs of the USSR, and Sheikh Sabah al-Ahmad, minister of foreign affairs and information of the State of Kuwait, have exchanged telegrams of congratulation on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Soviet Union and Kuwait.

Andrey Gromyko has expressed the confidence that the positive experience of developing Soviet-Kuwaiti relations on the basis of the principles of equality, respect for sovereignty and non-intervention in internal affairs that has been accumulated during these years will contribute to the further extension of friendship and cooperation between the Soviet Union and Kuwait for the good of the peoples of both countries and in the interests of peace in the Middle East.

Sabah al-Ahmad has noted in his telegram the high level achieved by relations between the USSR and Kuwait, relations characterized by mutual understanding and always based on the firm foundation of mutual respect and friendship. He has stated that Kuwait desires to continue following the road of cooperation between the two countries in all areas for the sake of the common interests of the peoples of the Soviet Union and Kuwait.

'ARAFAT MEETS WITH LEBANESE PRESIDENT 8 MAR

LD091139 Moscow TASS in English 1052 GMT 9 Mar 83

[Text] New Delhi March 9 TASS -- According to an UNI agency report, Chairman of the PLO Executive Committee Yasir 'Arafat and president Amin al-Jumayyil of Lebanon met on Tuesday. They discussed issues in connection with the withdrawal of foreign troops from Lebanon.

LEBANESE POLITICIAN CITED ON U.S. PRESENCE

PM111111 Moscow SOTSIALISTICHESKAYA INDUSTRIYA in Russian 11 Mar 83 p 3

[TASS report: "Under Intervention Colors"]

[Text] Beirut, 10 Mar -- Rashid Karami, prominent Lebanese politician and former prime minister of the country, has resolutely condemned U.S. interference in the internal affairs of Lebanon and its support for Israel's aggressive policy in the Near East. Tel Aviv's actions are in line with the White House's strategic interests in the Arab region, over which the U.S. Administration intends to establish complete domination after creating an extensive network of military bases and deploying military contingents, he said in conversation with a TASS correspondent. The United States is spurring on the Israeli ruling circles to new provocations against Arab states, assigning Tel Aviv the role of direct executant of its own hegemonist plans in the Near East.

The presence in Lebanon of U.S. subunits under the multinational forces colors was described by R. Karami as direct military interference. The U.S. interventionist "Rapid Deployment Forces," part of which forms the American military contingent in Lebanon, he stressed, is intended to secure new bridgeheads in the Near East and strengthen Washington's influence and domination there.

Tel Aviv's actions pose a real threat to security and stability not just in the Near East region but throughout the world. Against the will of the world community Tel Aviv continues its dirty war in Lebanon and refuses to withdraw its troops from Lebanese territory. The former prime minister called for the curbing of the Israeli aggressors and demanded an end to the crimes of the interventionists in Lebanon.

EGYPTIAN PARTY CONDEMNS U.S. MIDEAST POLICY

PM091811 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 83 First Edition p 5

[TASS report: "Egyptian Public Meeting"]

[Text] Cairo, 3 Mar -- A public meeting was held at the headquarters of the Egyptian National Progressive [Unionist] (left) Party. The meeting participants sharply condemned the Camp David agreements and the aggressive policy pursued by the United States and Israel in the Near East.

Addressing the meeting, National Progressive Party General Secretary K. Muhyi ad-Din stressed that the Egyptian patriotic forces have managed to rally their ranks in the struggle to wreck the Camp David process and against the perfidious designs of Zionism and imperialism. The Egyptian people, he said, are aware that the main threat to the region comes from Israel and its transatlantic patrons.

M. az-Zayyat, a prominent opposition figure and former chairman of the Egyptian-Soviet friendship society, said that the purpose of the separate Camp David agreements is to ensure U.S. and Israeli hegemony in the Near East. At present, he pointed out, attempts are being made to widen the framework of this anti-Arab deal and draw other countries into it, especially Lebanon.

The speakers at the rally stressed the full coincidence of the strategic goals of Washington and Tel Aviv, which want to have total control of the region. In these conditions, they noted, there is an urgent need to elaborate a common Arab strategy to counter the dangerous plans of imperialism and Zionism.

KOSOLAPOV ON INTEGRITY OF SOCIALIST SYSTEM

PM070901 Moscow PRAVDA in Russian 4 Mar 83 First Edition pp 2-3

[R. Kosolapov article under the rubric "Questions of Theory": "Socialism: Organic Integrity of a Social System" -- capitalized passages are published in boldface]

[Text] 1.

The Marxist-Leninist concept of developed socialism, created by the joint creative efforts of the CPSU and other ruling fraternal parties, is successfully standing the test of life. The elaboration of this concept, as Yu.V. Andropov noted in the article "Karl Marx's Teaching and Certain Questions of Socialist Building in the USSR," "was placed first, by the 26th CPSU Congress, among all that has been done in recent years in the sphere of Marxist-Leninist theory. On the basis of this concept the party defined its strategy and tactics for the years to come and for the longer term, and warned against possible exaggerations in interpreting the country's degree of proximity to the highest phase of communism. All this made it possible to clarify and give concrete form to the paths and time scales for the implementation of our program goals."

One of the most important places in the concept of developed socialism belongs to the provision on turning the socialist social system into an organic integrity -- a provision which arises from the application of K. Marx's scientific methodology. What does it mean?

In philosophical literature integrity usually means a certain qualitative completeness, the internal unity of the subject under consideration, arising and reproducing on some relatively stable objective basis and permitting the discovery of some common principle in the subject's evolution. In relation to the new society, this basis is the all-round socialization of labor and production, leading to the gradual restructuring of all social life on the basis of the collectivist principles to which this gives rise. Marx frankly described socialism as a society based "on the principles of collectivism, on common ownership of the means of production." (see K. Marx and F. Engels: Works, Vol 19, p 18) While V.I. Lenin associated the definition of the whole communist formation with common ownership. "The communist society," he said, "means everything in common: land, factories, common labor -- that is what communism is." (Complete Collected Works, Vol 41, p 314) On this basis collectively -- obviously in the most diverse, more or less developed forms -- is the essential common characteristic of socialist and communist social relations, while the corresponding normative value principle is COLLECTIVISM.

The formation of our social system's organic integrity has a long, rich history. The moment when Marxist-Leninist science started talking about the organic integrity of the socialist society as such came when that society started to resolve the tasks of completing the restructuring of all social relations on the collectivist principles which are inherent in socialism -- that is, when it entered the stage of maturity. This was authoritatively reflected in CPSU documents in the seventies and eighties. "Full scope for the operation of the laws of socialism and for the emergence of its advantages in all spheres of social life, the organic integrity and dynamism of the social system, its political stability and its indestructible internal unity -- these," L.I. Brezhnev said in the article "A Historic Milestone on the Path to Communism," "are the most important distinguishing features of the developed socialist society."

In essence the task of achieving the socialist integrity of the entire social organism was set immediately after October, at the very start of the transitional period from capitalism to socialism. As is known, at that time the economic base was made up of five opposing socioeconomic principles, and the new, socialist principle was not yet predominant.

The working class and the labor peasantry, led by the Bolshevik Party, directed all their efforts in the fierce class struggle against exploitative elements to ensuring that socialism, after gaining commanding positions in the economy, extended its influence to all economic sectors. Attention was focused on the goal of ensuring a socialist STRUCTURAL UNITY [yedinoukladnost], which was indeed established in the USSR back in the early thirties in two forms -- ownership by the whole people and kolkhoz cooperative ownership of the means of production -- within the framework of a unified, planned national economy.

The logic of the further socialization of labor and production itself dictates two interconnected avenues of socialist progress. The first is the steady industrialization of all sectors of the economy, particularly agriculture; the introduction of successive new generations of leading machinery and technology; and the energetic reduction of the still considerable (some 40 percent of industry and still more in construction and the service sphere) sector of heavy physical and unskilled manual labor.

The second is the consistent drawing together of the two forms of socialist ownership.

The elimination of the substantial differences between different sectors and branches of production in terms of the level of technical equipment and power available; the transformation of agrarian labor into a type of industrial labor; the increasing similarity between working and living conditions on sovkhozes and on kolkhozes, and the raising of these conditions to the urban level; the increasingly close relationship between agricultural and industrial enterprises -- both those processing agricultural produce and those servicing kolkhoz and sovkhoz production: All this, one the one hand, promoted the process of concentration in industry and the emergence of production and science-and-production associations and, on the other, led to the emergence of organizational forms in which both farms owned by the whole people and cooperative farms began naturally to take part.

Interfarm enterprises and organizations (interkolkhoz, kolkhoz-sovkhoz and agroindustrial organizations), which numbered some 10,000 in 1982, already offer a glimpse of a "laboratory of organic synthesis," to use the language of chemistry, between the two types of socialist ownership in the process of joint resolution of production tasks. Of course, this does not mean the merging of cooperative ownership and ownership by the whole people. But the social requirement manifested here was to elaborate, taking account of all that has been accumulated in the sphere in question, a SINGLE TYPE of organization for the agroindustrial complex its management -- which was indeed accomplished by the CPSU Central Committee May (1982) plenum. The creation of rayon, oblast, kray and republic (ASSR) agroindustrial associations in accordance with the plenum decisions is designed to incorporate enterprises owned by the whole people and cooperative enterprises in a system of more up-to-date technical, technological and organization-technical relations. Obviously, the development of these last must change the structure of social ownership of the means of production in the agrarian sector by stimulating integration processes here. It is again a question of the increasing integrity of the socialist economy and of its tending to acquire the nature of an economy of the whole people.

2.

The drawing together of the two forms of socialist ownership, their fusion in homogeneous organizational units and the gradual overcoming of the associated "duality," so to speak, of production relations, distribution and exchange under socialism are a basic aspect of the formation of its integrity. If you look at the social sphere, the most noteworthy trend in our society's integral development will be the elimination of the class distinction between the worker and the peasant, the erasure of social borders between the working classes and their rapprochement with the intelligentsia.

The "bifurcation" of socialist society in connection with the existence of two forms of ownership, a "bifurcation" into the working class and the kolkhoz peasantry -- friendly classes which are by no means opposed to each other, but, on the contrary, are building a new life in close, strengthening alliance -- this "bifurcation" is increasingly demonstrating its transitory nature. Back in the seventies some authors erroneously tried to present it as a general feature of the first phase of communism throughout its duration. But the historical process went in a different direction, and the last word was said about this by the 26th CPSU Congress.

IN PRESENT-DAY CONDITIONS," it was stressed in the CPSU Central Committee Resolution "On the 60th Anniversary of the USSR's Formation," THERE IS CONTINUING RAPPROCHEMENT BETWEEN ALL CLASSES AND SOCIAL GROUPS IN SOCIALIST SOCIETY, LEADING TO THE FORMATION OF, ON THE WHOLE, A CLASSLESS STRUCTURE OF SOCIETY WITHIN THE HISTORICAL FRAMEWORK OF MATURE SOCIALISM." Thus the second phase of communism must be directly preceded not by a society divided into classes, but by a CLASSLESS SOCIALIST SOCIETY. This will be a free association of physical and mental workers established on the basis of the socialist interests and communist ideals of the working class, and confirming by its very existence the old Marxist truth that "the situation of the working class is the real basis and starting point for all the social movements of our day..." (K. Marx and F. Engels: Works, Vol 2, p 238).

At present the Soviet working class, holding a leading position in society determined above all by its place and role in the system of social production, has come to form the majority of the working people. That is a cardinal fact of our social life and will have really historic consequences. In 1959 workers and their families were the largest population group in only 6 of the union republics, while in 1970 they were the largest group in 13 republics. They became the clear majority in all the union republics in the mid-seventies. It was no accident that this change coincided with the historical phase of Soviet society's entry into the stage of developed socialism, which is a new stage in the working class' fulfillment of its historical mission.

The working class, as the most revolutionary class of today, is the guarantee of the creation of a classless, socially homogenous society, and the cradle of the first such society is to be the new historical community of people -- the Soviet people, the generalized result, as it were, of the building of developed socialism in our country and the indicator of its organic integrity. That is why the most important features of this integrity, comprehensive study, and the fundamental features of the new historical community are, in the main, the same.

First and foremost the new historical community is the product of the elimination of antagonism between classes, the ensuing and resulting elimination of antagonism between nations and the establishment of relations of comradely cooperation and mutual assistance everywhere between people freed from exploitation. That is why to consider it solely in terms of the resolution of the nationalities question is to take a narrow, inadequate view. Obviously this community could only be made up of free, equal socialist nations, and they could only become such as a result of radical social transformations, and here two factors come to the fore: A) The formation of non-antagonistic social structures for all the country's nations and ethnic groups, with the multinational working class in the leading role; and B) the resolution of the nationalities question in the form inherited from the society of private ownership. In both cases the class principle is dominant -- in other words, the new historical community is formed only of friendly working [trudyashchiyesya] classes and social strata, for which national differences among themselves have no decisive significance. This two-fold definition of the new historical community BOTH AS AN ALLIANCE OF WORKING NATIONS AND AS AN ALLIANCE OF WORKING CLASSES is fundamental to the characterization of our social system's integrity.

3.

Hints have recently begun appearing in certain publications, referring to the crisis phenomena in Poland, hinting at the alleged need for a "new reading" of Lenin's well-known thesis: "Antagonism and contradiction are by no means the same thing."

The former will disappear, the latter will persist under socialism." (Lenin: Anthology 11, p 357) The purport of this formulation of the question is that henceforth social antagonism should be considered possible even in the conditions of socialism once built, which amounts to an "amendment" to the viewpoint formerly generally accepted among Soviet social scientists. But proposals of this kind can hardly be regarded unreservedly as a contribution to theory. They are rather the result of a poor assessment of the requirements of the Marxist-Leninist concrete historical approach to social phenomena, and in our view have little connection with reality.

To begin with, in the evaluation of the PZPR itself, in the Poland of the time before the crisis and still more in Poland now, it is not possible to regard the tasks of the transitional period as being completely resolved or Polish society as having coped with the task of fully building socialism. The existence there for several decades, alongside the socialist structure, of stable privately owned agriculture and a capitalist sector and of influential antisocialist ideological currents indicates the contrasting mosaic of the base and the superstructure, and thus the existence of objective causes for antagonistic class contradictions. Can anything of the kind be said about the Soviet Union and those socialist countries which, alongside nationalized large-scale industry, have large-scale, highly mechanized, collective agriculture? The degree of integration of the socialist social system here achieved, which depends to a considerable extent on the established moral and political unity of society, gives weighty guarantees against the emergence of negative trends of a critical nature -- provided, of course, that the machinery of planned management of economic and social development is functioning normally and the whipping up of problems long since solved is not permitted. The ability to see the difference in kind between societies which are still forced to deal with the question "who will come out on top?" and societies which no longer have the class struggle is one of the most important prerequisites for a scientific understanding of the processes taking place in the countries of world socialism.

However, even a moot point can provide a basis for formulating and clarifying an important theoretical question. In this case this is the question of WHAT ACTUAL CONTRADICTIONS ARE ALIEN TO OR, CONVERSELY, INHERENT IN SOCIALISM AS AN ORGANIC INTEGRITY. It has already been noted that after the complete victory of socialism class and national antagonism is obsolete -- contradictions in social development acquire a nonantagonistic nature. But does not the new society experience acute conflicts and open clashes? Why? Both conflicts and clashes occur, but now they are not the expression of the struggle of one class against another, labor against capital and capital against labor, or hostility between nations; as a rule, they are evidence either of differences BETWEEN INDIVIDUALS or of the counterposition of the selfish interests of an INDIVIDUAL OR GROUP OF INDIVIDUALS to the interests of society as a whole. Marxism-Leninism has always distinguished between SOCIAL ANTAGONISM, which has no place under socialism, and INDIVIDUAL ANTAGONISM, which will still occur for a long time to come, and has criticized attempts to identify them with each other. "Bourgeois production relations," Marx wrote, "are the last antagonistic form of the social process of production -- antagonistic not in the sense of individual antagonism, but in the sense of the antagonism which grows out of the social conditions of individuals' life; but the production forces which develop within bourgeois society create at the same time the material conditions for resolving this antagonism. So the bourgeois social formation is the culmination of the prehistory of human society." (K. Marx and F. Engels: Works, Vol 13, pp 7-8)

The elimination of the social antagonism which grows out of the social conditions of individuals' life, which Marx and Lenin had in mind; the transformation of all SOCIAL contradictions into nonantagonistic contradictions and the reduction of the remaining antagonism to the INDIVIDUAL level -- this is a tremendous achievement for the socialist society and a characteristic feature of it. Inaccuracies in interpreting this question are largely due to the fact that even nonantagonistic contradictions, like antagonistic ones, can take on the FORM of conflict. At the same time it is always necessary to distinguish between them IN CONTENT.

Without doing this the NEW FORMATION can hardly be judged correctly.

The organic integrity achieved by the developed socialist society is by no means absolute in nature. It is a constantly developing characteristic asserted in work and struggle and meeting with opposing trends. Does not everyone know that, where due concern is not displayed for the formation of a sound social climate and where educational work in the socialist, collectivist spirit is relaxed, phenomena diametrically opposed to communist morality begin to grow spontaneously? "Pilferers" and bribe-takers, speculators and scroungers, drifters and parasites -- they are all keen to lay their hands on every available kopek and are good at getting the benefit of other people's labor without a twinge of conscience. Not for nothing did Lenin assess these social tares just as severely as the class enemies. Such elements are particularly dangerous because wherever they are able to install themselves they make holes, like moths, in the fabric of socialist social relations and try to weave a net of anticollectivist ties and draw other people into their net. These are the individual carriers of the germ of antagonism, and the struggle against them can and must be implacable.

In strengthening the organic integrity of the socialist social system priority significance is attached to control over the measure of labor and the measure of consumption, in which increasingly broad strata of the working people must participate. The socialist society is a society of labor, not a consumer society. Access to material and spiritual assets is free and open to conscientious working people who measure their consumer requirements honestly against their contribution to the common cause. At the same time loafers and shoddy workers and people who, as was said at the 26th CPSU Congress, are fond of "a good life for next to no work" must be deprived of such freedom. It is far from a matter of indifference to society, labor collectives and public organizations how a particular citizen makes a living. Socialist sources of income must be clearly distinguished from nonsocialist sources, and we must strive to ensure the equality of all before our legal and moral norms.

It has long been widely known that the socialist social system, by destroying the capitalist labor market, thereby eliminates the sphere of buying and selling, but from the sphere of ownership relations in general. The integral collectivist nature of our system is ultimately determined by the situation of every worker as co-owner of the socialized means of production and his activeness as a full participant in collective, directly social labor. That is why it is obviously futile, in our time, to attempt to theorize about "personal ownership" of manpower and its "value" under socialism; falsely depicting our society as being atomized by private interest, and consciously or unconsciously inclining working people toward an individualistic approach. Narrow economic assessments and the criteria of commercial production are not applicable to the individual and his capabilities under socialist conditions. This is a most important principle of scientific communism, indicating its profoundly humanist nature, and must be strictly put into practice in all spheres of social science and, of course, practical activity.

The topic of the organic integrity of socialism has been touched on in this article only in the most general terms and in relation to only a few of its features. It requires further interpretation and clarification, study and exposition in new social science research. "We must not retreat in the field of the mind," Pushkin wrote. These words are unusually relevant to the concept of developed socialism, whose increasingly concrete analysis is a vital, necessary condition of improving the new society and ensuring its intensive growth. Time will not wait, and social scientists could be deservedly reproached for excessive slowness.